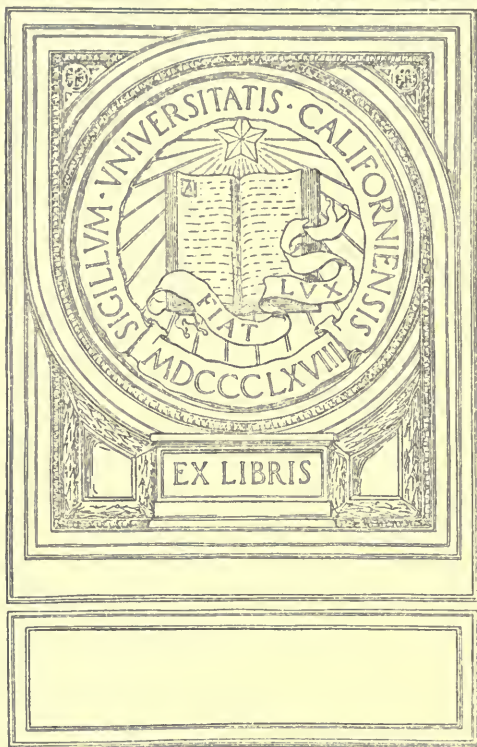


IRELAND
AND
HER STORY

By
JUSTIN McCARTHY



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



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IRELAND
AND
HER STORY

BY
JUSTIN McCARTHY

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30 LAFAYETTE PLACE

1903

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NOTE BY THE EDITOR

THERE are signs that the night of hatred and twilight of suspicion are brightening into the dawn of a new day in the history of the partnership between Great Britain and Ireland, into a day of mutual understanding, respect, and in the end affection.

The angry time has already passed when no Irishman could read with patience and profit a history of his native land by an Irishman of other politics than his own, and when the predominant partner was inclined to shut his ears to both. Here, then, is such a history, by a man who has been no neutral in the strife, who for many years upheld in the House of Commons the views of the Irish majority; who, indeed (though he has modestly omitted to say it), was Chairman of the larger section of the Nationalist party from 1890 till 1896; yet who in the stormiest times never lost the esteem of the English people. This book of his will help to explain the old antagonisms, and in explaining may help to end them.

H. A. K.



CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. FOUNTAIN AND ORIGIN - - -	I
II. STRUGGLES OF THE DAWN - -	II
III. THE NORMAN SETTLEMENT - -	28
IV. THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS - - -	45
V. THE TYRONES AND TYRCONNELS -	61
VI. CROMWELL, JAMES, AND WILLIAM -	76
VII. IRELAND IN QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN	97
VIII. IRELAND UNDER THE GEORGES -	109
IX. THE REBELLION OF '98 AND THE ACT OF UNION - - - -	128
X. CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION AND O'CONNELL - - - -	146
XI. THE YOUNG IRELAND MOVEMENT -	158
XII. HOME RULE - - - - -	170
<i>INDEX</i> - - - - -	187
<i>MAP</i> - - - - -	77



CHAPTER I

FOUNTAIN AND ORIGIN

AS the child is the father of the man, so the legend is the parent of the history. If we would understand the story of a nation we must begin by a study of its legendary lore. We cannot thoroughly comprehend the character of a people unless we have made ourselves well acquainted with the legendary forms that people has accepted as the pictures of its progenitors. There are severe and scientific expositors of history who insist that every trace of the past should be rejected, unless it has authentic evidence to prove its reality and warrant its place. But no evidence can be of greater importance as to national characteristics than the legends which found common belief in the days when the nation was just beginning to emerge from

the realm of shadows. We could not understand the people who created the Parthenon if we did not take account of the Homeric gods and heroes, nor could we comprehend the race which raised the Pyramids if we were to put out of consideration the stories which came to be embodied in "The Thousand and One Nights."

Especially is this true of the Celtic races in Europe, and still more of the race which has created the story of Ireland. The Celtic races are found for the most part in the Highlands of Scotland, in Wales, in the Isle of Man, in Northern France, and in Ireland. Among all these we find a large accumulation of poetic fable, and the same love for this accumulated treasure of ages. One of the most characteristic legends in the earliest history of Ireland is that which tells us the island was originally peopled by some race who came from an Eastern climate to the small island lying to the west of Great Britain. This theory has nothing inherently improbable in it, seeing that mankind in its earliest and most unsettled days was much given to wandering. Some set of enterprising men who found themselves oppressed in an Eastern land may well have crossed the sea to discover a new home, and at last have come upon the Irish shore. The natives of Phœnicia, on the coast of Syria, were amongst the earliest and most famous navi-

gators and traders known to the antique world, and were always wandering in search of new homes and founding new colonies. Between the nineteenth and the thirteenth century before Christ they established many colonies along the shores of the Mediterranean, and are believed to have spread their settlements so far as the British islands. One of the favourite theories of early Irish history is that they alighted upon Ireland and were the first strangers who made a home there.

Other legends describe the settlement in Ireland of a race who came from Greece, and are known to Irish story as the Tuatha de Danaan. Their leader is said among his other triumphs to have given his name to Britain itself. The chosen home of this race is believed to have been Ireland, where the story goes that they led a stormy existence for many centuries. We are not bound to examine closely these various legends of the race which created the Irish people. But we may probably accept the theory that some people from a country far-off to the East, whether Greece or Syria, became the first settlers in Ireland. Certainly there is much in the character and in the ways of the Irish, even in our own times, which favours the belief that they owe the birth of their civilization to settlers coming from a far-off Eastern or Southern home. The most ordinary ob-

server can see in the habits of the Irish people indications of such an origin. The ways of the Irish peasantry are still such as might belong to a race whose progenitors lived under skies more favourable to out-door life than those usual in the misty and melancholy climate of Ireland. The Irish peasant lives as much as he can in the open air, using his cottage chiefly as a sleeping-place, and thereby suggests the conditions of a people originally accustomed to a very different atmosphere.

The most cherished legends of the Irish people also suggest this theory of Eastern or Southern origin. For the Irish people the kingdom of the ghosts is easily ripped open,—to adopt the phrase Schiller applies to a different people, also claiming a far foreign origin. All the ballads and stories popular in Ireland seem to tell of a land where the supernatural and the magical make part of everyday life. The fairies are still a reality in Irish imaginings; the soil is peopled by goblins and wizards and fantastic creatures of all kinds who have nothing to do with the common laws of existence. Every stream, well, and cavern, every indentation of the sea-shore, every valley and mountain peak, has its own stories and memories of beings who do not belong to this earth. A distinguished Englishman once said that whereas in the inland counties of England he had found

many a peasant who neither knew the name of the river within sight of his cottage, nor troubled himself about its early history, he never met with an Irish peasant who was not ready to give him a whole string of legends and stories about the stream which flowed under his eyes every day. Most of these legends tell of early struggles and calamities which do not belong to the domain of history. They form pictures of a race in perpetual contest not only with the fierce troubles of human life, but with the wizardries of magic and the actual interpositions of embodied fatalities. Many of them are very beautiful and poetic, like those cherished in Wales and among the Bretons, and most of them are set to a melancholy and musical tune.

The general effect of all this is of importance when we are following out the history of the Irish race during the periods which come strictly within the domain of authentic record. They bear testimony to the growth of a people essentially imaginative and endowed with qualities not common to the ordinary ways of peoples grown up to civilization. Lord Beaconsfield once, in a famous speech, ascribed most of the troubles of Ireland to the fact that the island is surrounded by a melancholy ocean. Like many of Beaconsfield's sayings, which at first seemed to be merely fantastic, this had in it something of appropriateness. But Beaconsfield might

6 ONCE IRISH, ALWAYS IRISH

have added that the legends and stories, the poetry and music of early Ireland, played an important part, along with the melancholy ocean, in forming the character which has always belonged to the Celtic inhabitants of Ireland. They help us to understand the story of Ireland. Wherever the Irishman, if he be a genuine Celt, wanders or settles, he never wholly loses his characteristics, and in Lancashire, in Illinois, in France, in South Africa, or in Australasia, he remains an Irishman still, and never quite assimilates himself to the habits of the people with whom he has had to cast in his lot. There was not very long ago a great Spanish Prime Minister whose family, of old descent, had been famous in Ireland, and although many generations had passed since their settlement in Spain, and he himself had never set foot on Irish soil, he still retained so much of ancestral feeling against the State which had forced his people into exile that he positively refused, even for diplomatic purposes, to learn English. I tell the story as it was told to me, and was certainly believed at the time, only as an illustration of my theory, that the genuine Irishman remains at heart an Irishman still.

For the early development of the Celtic Irishman, of the race who, whatever their far foreign origin, settled down in Ireland and made it their home, we have to look to the legends and ballads of the country. Music

has always been an accompaniment of the growth of that Celtic nationality. Whenever we read the story of the brave deeds done by the yellow-vested King or Chieftain for the sake of the beautiful woman we read also of the white-robed harper and his harp. The harp has always been the instrument of Irish song, and even in the memory of men and women not yet old its strains were heard in almost every Irish drawing-room. The songs of Thomas Moore were sung to the harp, as were the ballads of the dim days described in prehistoric legend. "The Three Sorrowful Tales of Erin" are among the most famous of Ireland's poetic legends. To a yet more distant date belongs the Lady Ceasair, who is said to have come to Ireland before the deluge, and settled there with a curious little colony composed of fifty women and only three men. The waters of the deluge swept away this somewhat disproportioned settlement; and then another race of colonizers occupied the land, according to legendary authority, for some three hundred years. Then came the Firbolgs, who were in their turn dispossessed by the Tuatha de Danaan, who came from Greece, and who are described as profoundly skilled in all manner of wizardry and magic. Their conquest came in due time when the Milesians, a people of Eastern race who had for a time settled in Spain, were inspired to attempt the conquest of the island.

After a fierce struggle the Milesians defeated the Tuatha de Danaan, and drove them out of the country, or compelled them to seek shelter in the natural fastnesses of the mountains, and the two Milesian leaders divided Ireland between them. As the reader of legendary history will easily imagine, the two Milesian leaders soon quarrelled for supremacy. One of them killed the other and made himself King of the whole country, thus becoming, as a modern historian put it, "a Milesian version of Romulus."

The second sorrowful tale of Erin, which describes the fate of the children of Lir, is associated with this phase of Irish development. This Milesian people is now generally regarded as the parent of the Celtic Irish race. One hundred and eighteen Kings of this stock are said to have ruled over Ireland, and one of the Queens of the race is associated with the third of the sorrowful tales of Erin—the story of Deirdri, the daughter of a bard renowned in Irish fable. We soon come to the legends which have for their hero Finn, the Fingal of Ossian, with the Feni around him, who, as the writer we have already quoted tells us, "stand in the same relation to him that the twelve peers do to Charlemagne, or the Knights of the Round Table do to Arthur." We need not follow any further this legendary history, but it must be said that for the existence of the legends we have authentic evidence in many ancient

books and manuscripts preserved within the reach of students, and translated by modern scholars. It is needless to say that they have a deep and lasting interest for all students of history, not because we must regard them as authentic records of actual lives, but because they illustrate, as well as any established facts could do, the nature and temper of the races which preserved them and believed in them. It would be impossible for modern readers to put entire faith in them, because they are so thoroughly mixed up with the magical and supernatural as to defy the credence even of the most credulous.

Nor is it of the slightest importance to us to know whether the successive kings and chieftains and bards had a real existence. But to deny any historical importance to the fact that such legends were once accepted as history, or to the evidence they give concerning the feelings and habits of the race, would be as unwise as to deny historical value to the Homeric poems because we cannot believe in Zeus or Hera, or to the Arabian Nights because we cannot accept the genii, the winged horses, and the enchanters. Some legendary lore forms the introduction to the authentic history of every people which has risen to civilization, and from that legendary lore we may be guided to an understanding of each people's characteristics. I therefore call attention to the literature on which we have to rely for our knowledge of the races

occupying Ireland before the age of what we describe as civilization had set in, and for our guidance to a thorough understanding of Ireland's authenticated history.

An energetic and widespread effort has lately begun, and is now going on, for the revival of early Irish literature and for the restoration of the Irish language to its place in the living speech of man. The movement thus far has been entirely successful, and finds enthusiastic support, not merely in Ireland, but in every part of the world where Irishmen have made a home. One of its results has even already been to make it clear to readers everywhere that there is a vast wealth of genuine Irish literature stored, and until lately one might almost say buried, in public and private libraries, in monasteries and in national museums. Only the scholars who made Ireland's early literature a special study knew, for a long time, the value of these buried treasures, but the recent movement has drawn the attention of all who care about books to these long-neglected interpreters of the past. This volume, therefore, opens with the assurance that Ireland had a great literature of her own—legendary, poetic, and historical—in days long before the light of Christianity had shone upon the island. The influence of that literature has to be taken into account by any who would understand the history of Ireland.

CHAPTER II

STRUGGLES OF THE DAWN

THE conditions of life prevailing in Ireland before the Gospel of Christianity had reached her shores were very much what might have been expected from a people whose legendary lore inspired and reflected, as I have briefly described, the national temperament. The population lived for the most part on agricultural produce, although there was a certain exportation of its mineral products—gold in some parts—to the nearer shores of the Continent. The social condition of the island approached nearly to a form of communism under the direction of a hierarchy of elected Sovereigns or Chieftains. There was a Druid priesthood who had the care of religious teaching, and the guiding principle of that teaching appears to have been

the worship of some vague, unknown supreme being whose presence was typified to mortals by the sun. The population of the island was divided into Septs, and each Sept was composed of families who bore the name of the foremost man, the head of the clan. The Chief of each Sept recognised the supreme authority of the chosen head or Sovereign of the whole island. This ruler and all the Chiefs under him were chosen by a form of popular election. The principle of primogeniture was unknown to the islanders, and the successor to each Chief was elected during that Chief's lifetime and bore the title of Tanist, the only condition being that the Tanist must be chosen from the family to which the Chief belonged. The sons were regarded as partners with their father, and after the death of the father his possessions were divided in equal shares among his male children.

The position of woman was very high—was indeed equal to that of man, except where actual service in arms and the necessity of tilling and defending imposed duties on men which could not in the ordinary course of nature have become a task for women. The wife was the equal of her husband, the sisters of the brothers, and there was throughout the whole social system a respect and even a romantic reverence for womanhood more appropriate to the age of chivalry than

to the days before the Gospel of Christianity had been preached to the world. Whatever Ireland may have derived from the teachings of the East, she had accepted no ideas involving the subjection of women. The Brehons were the official and hereditary judges and promulgators of the laws. The Brehons, like the Chieftains, were elected to their positions in the commonwealth. The people lived in houses or huts built of wood or made of wattles, and even the palaces, if they may so be called, were only constructions of wood, painted over with coloured and ornamental devices. The wealth of the country consisted in its agricultural productions, its minerals, its fish, and its cattle, horses, pigs, and sheep. Some of the Irish Septs showed much skill in the erection of fortresses for their defence, and displayed reverence for the dead by raising great monuments to their memory.

Every stranger who has visited Ireland must have been impressed by the Round Towers still to be seen in almost all parts of the island—tall, pillar-like erections, which are almost as peculiar to Ireland as the Pyramids are to Egypt. The traveller from Dublin to the south can see more than one of those pillar towers standing, almost unharmed by time, quite near to the rails along which run the steaming and screaming engines of modern locomotion. It is still

disputed whether these Round Towers were built long before or soon after the birth of Christianity, and whether they symbolized any form of worship, and, if so, what was the form of worship in whose honour they pointed to the sky.

It is enough for my purpose to say that the Round Towers were certainly built before authentic history had to do with Ireland, and that they testify to the existence, from dim unknown days, of a remarkable degree of artistic development. There are many indications of a love for art and skill in artistic ornament among the people of Ireland even in prehistoric times. Abundant specimens of their skilful workmanship in gold can now be seen by anyone in Irish and other museums, and a dispute has quite lately been going on as to whether the ownership of certain treasures of early Irish art ought to be vested in the British Museum, as the treasure-house of the Empire, or in the Dublin institution which represents exclusively the preservation of Ireland's historic relics. The Irish Chieftains and law-makers and Druids appear to have cultivated from days far beyond the reach of history the art of writing, and to have invented an alphabet of their own, innumerable specimens of which are still preserved and made the subjects of much learned discussion.

With the time when Christianity touched

the island to take possession of it, what may be regarded as Ireland's authenticated history began. St. Patrick is the patron saint of Ireland, and is identified with the whole development of the Irish since they became known to the outer world. His name is as much revered now by the great mass of the Irish as it was at any time since he first set foot on the soil as the teacher of Christianity. Patrick had seen something of Ireland before he came there to teach and preach. In his early youth he was carried from Gaul to Ireland as a slave, and even in his days of slavery he formed an affection for the country and its population. He made his escape from servitude, and found his way to France and then to Rome. He devoted himself in Rome to teaching the Gospel, and soon became a conspicuous figure among those who were spreading the doctrines of Christianity. But he never forgot the island he had seen as a slave, and his heart was filled with a passionate desire to convert the Irish to Christianity.

Somewhere about the year 430 A.D. St. Patrick went back to Ireland and began his work of conversion at once. The work had been tried already by other Christian teachers, but without much success; and it was left for Patrick to accomplish a complete triumph. There is a genius for moral conversion as well as for warlike conquest, and Patrick possessed

it in a supreme degree. No conqueror ever overran a fresh soil with more success than that which St. Patrick won for himself and for Ireland as a preacher of the Gospel. Wherever he made his appearance he gained believers and followers. He achieved as if by some magical spell the conversion of Ireland to Christianity, and the work once done was done for ever. He laboured for some sixty years, and when he died his body was laid to rest in Irish soil. He had found in Ireland a people in whose temperament the spirit of veneration had always played a leading part. That gleam of the poetic which belongs to the mind of the Irish peasant in the ordinary ways of his life was of itself an invitation to the principles of a Faith whose kingdom is not of this world. The Irish Celts have been since the days of St. Patrick, as before his time, peculiarly open to religious teaching, and they had only to learn of Christianity to accept it. The life of St. Patrick is the subject of a great mass of poetic legend of which it is not necessary in this short history to take much account. All that is known for certain of his life and labours is set forth sufficiently in the brief description I have given of him. His work forms a record of his life on which no historical investigation or sceptical analysis can cast any doubt. No such controversy as to the personality and career of St. Patrick

has been raised as that which Gibbon brought up concerning the identity and character of St. George. Even Gibbon could hardly have started any serious question as to the identity and work of the saint who conquered Ireland for Christianity. For a long time the island St. Patrick had converted was regarded throughout Europe as the especial home of Christianity, and was called the “Isle of Saints.” Many great foreign historians, who had no particular sympathy with Celtic populations, testified to the position Ireland held in the estimation of educated Europe.

But the internal condition of Ireland began to be visited by many disturbing influences. Perhaps the fame which she had won for enlightenment and religion attracted invaders to her shores. The Danish invasion was the first of these great inroads. The Danes were a people especially given to travel, adventure, and conquest, and the mild softness of the Irish climate, the readiness with which the soil repaid its culture, must have been potent allurements to the inhabitants of a colder region with rougher seas and less temperate skies. Ireland was quite near enough to invite expeditions of conquest, and towards the close of the eighth century the hardy Norsemen effected their first landing upon Irish soil. Ireland was not at the time in a position to offer united resistance to the invaders. The constitution of the country

had not grown up under circumstances suggesting the necessity of constant defence against incursions from over the seas. On one side lay what was then regarded as the illimitable ocean, and on the other countries from which she had received many friendly visitations, but had no reason to expect conquering inroads.

The island was divided among native Chiefs, who concerned themselves mainly about their local interests, and had, no doubt, their natural rivalries. In the crisis of danger they were not able to form any common league against the invaders. The warlike Danes overran Ireland and held the country for more than a century. Then there came about an event so common in the history of nationalities that any intelligent reader might be able to anticipate it. The native Irish had been conquered and reduced to servitude, not because they were incapable of effective resistance, but because the man had not yet come who was destined to show them how to organize the means and secure the end. At the critical moment the man arose. His name was Brian Boroihme, or Boru, a name ever since familiar to readers in all countries, even to readers who regard it as that of some half-mythical hero, the serio-comic invention of Hibernian imagination.

Brian Boru was brother of the King, or Chief, of Munster, and had already made

himself very popular with the people in general. Apparently, he had only been waiting for the opportunity to develop the genius of a warlike commander, and now showed himself capable of turning it to the fullest advantage. He raised and organized an army, attacked the Danes, and inflicted on them some heavy defeats. He brought them to that condition of temporary humiliation which made them willing to remain in the island, provided they consented to live quietly in the seaport towns and make no effort at re-conquest. Then followed what might have been expected in the career of a conqueror. Brian became possessed by the conviction that his country would thrive better and more securely under the reign of a single Sovereign than under the separate rule of the Chiefs, and that he was the man who ought to be supreme ruler. It was the story of Alexander, of Cæsar, of the first Napoleon, told at a different time and under different conditions. Many native historians insist that Brian was actuated by purely patriotic motives, that he believed Ireland could only be safe and prosperous under the rule of one Sovereign, and that he best knew how to initiate such a rule. It seems only reasonable, when we survey Brian's whole career, to assume that there must have been some element of the purely patriotic mingling with his natural ambition.

He was not allowed to obtain his place of supremacy without opposition. Some of the Irish Chieftains denounced him as a mere usurper, and rose in arms against him ; but he bore down their opposition. The Irish people, who had seen their country conquered by the Danish invaders because the separate Chieftains could not unite in resistance, might well have believed that the government of a single ruler, and that ruler the man who had just overcome the Danes, would bring about a better era for their native land.

Brian was before long acknowledged as King of all Ireland, and he proved himself a most wise and capable monarch. Under his reign peace prevailed throughout the land ; the laws of property were respected, men and women could make their living in safety and no attempt was made at any uprising, even local, against his beneficent rule. The poems and legends which tell of the perfect order and prosperity prevailing under Brian's rule, although sometimes extravagant in their terms, form a very substantial tribute to the general character of his reign. When the whole minstrelsy and legendary art of a people unite in describing a certain ruler as wise and beneficent, their testimony is not to be classed with the mere eulogy of court poets and flattering pensioners. Brian had still some military work to do before his people could consider themselves free from the enter-

prises of the Danes. The Danish residents in Ireland began to chafe at the subordinate position to which Brian had reduced them, and they kept up a constant communication with their kinsmen and friends in the North. The result was that another expedition from the Danish shores was organized against Ireland, and a great fleet, as fleets were then, was sent to make war upon the new Irish Sovereign. Brian was now sinking into age—he had had some twelve years of peaceful reign—but he showed that the courage and capacity of his earlier days had not deserted him. He roused the whole country to a determined resistance. He took command himself. He encountered the Danish army at Clontarf on the Good Friday of 1014, and inflicted on them a defeat so crushing that it put an end to all likelihood of further Danish invasion.

The victory of the Irish was not gained without heavy cost, for it brought with it the death of Ireland's great Sovereign. Brian, who took but too little care for the safety of his own person, assumed that the battle was all over when he had seen the Danes defeated and dispersing in utter flight. He returned to his tent, in order, it is supposed, to give directions to officers whom he expected to meet there, or, as some say, to offer up a prayer, and was killed by one of the Danish leaders. He may be said to have

accomplished the one great purpose of his life, for his active career closed that whole volume of Irish history which has to do with Danish invasion. His memory is still cherished in the national sentiment of Ireland as that of King Alfred is in England. No matter what historical criticism may do with many of the stories which glorify the life and deeds of King Brian, his figure must stand out to all time as that of a great soldier, a sincere patriot, and a wise ruler. His death was in every sense a great loss to his country. There are conditions which may justify at some national crisis the usurpation of supreme authority by a master-spirit, but the master-spirit is not always able to bequeath his own genius and authority to his successors. No Sovereign followed King Brian who could continue the work of peace, union, and prosperity he had begun.

It must be said for the Danes that they had in their time rendered material service to the country they invaded and occupied. Belonging to the race of the Sea Kings, they naturally were able to do good work in the making of harbours, and the remains of their skill are to be seen on many parts of the Irish shores. They were given to the building of towns, and history credits them with the foundation of the City of Dublin, Ireland's metropolis, and other cities as well. After the death of Brian, when all idea of

reconquering the island had passed out of the Danish mind, a large number of Danes kept up their settlement in Ireland, and it must be owned that if they did some substantial work for the benefit of the island, they sometimes exercised a very baneful influence by promoting dissension among the ruling Irish Septs and Chieftains.

After Brian's death there came up no man capable of reuniting the whole Celtic population under his rule, and the resident Danes were only too ready to avail themselves of any dissensions going on among the Irish ruling families, and to support one Chieftain or to oppose another, according as it might seem to suit their own immediate interests. Thus the condition of Ireland, when the rule of the strong man ended, became, so far as its system of rule was concerned, very much the same as before the birth of Brian. The country was once again divided into the dominions of separate Chiefs or Kings, all professing an allegiance, which was merely nominal, to the government of one Sovereign Chief. The country was divided amongst four rulers. Each of these four dominions was but a federation of tribes and families. The four divisions were those we now know as the provinces of Leinster, Ulster, Munster, and Connaught. Lagenia was then the name of Leinster, Mononia Munster, Conacia Connaught, and Ulidia

Ulster. It is believed that with the reign of King Brian came into settled use the fashion of describing Irish families by the prefix O or Mac, in each case indicating descent, and showing that the head of the family was the son or grandson of some distinguished founder or leader of a sept.

There were keen rivalries and jealousies among the different chieftains, families, and provinces, and it is curious to notice how the Irish poetry of that day, as well as of a much later day, harps continually on the perils to which the country was subjected by the want of union among the leaders and people. "While your tyrants joined in hate, you never joined in love" were the words of reproach Thomas Moore addressed to his countrymen during the nineteenth century, and he but echoed the remonstrance which had thrilled on many harp-strings through long ages of the past. The quarrels between Irish chieftains found their culmination in an event which belongs to the same romantic order as the story of Helen and the war of Troy. One of the Irish nobles, the Lord or Chief of Brefni, had a beautiful wife, who attracted the admiration of Dermot Macmurragh, the King of Leinster. Macmurragh was a type of the royal savage, as we have known him through all legend and history, a reckless warrior, loving the battle-field and the chase, enjoying revelry of every kind, and utterly

selfish in gratifying his desires. The fair Devorgilla yielded herself only too readily to the appeal of her lover, and was carried off by him. The immediate result was a civil war. Brefni took up arms against the chieftain who had so deeply wronged him, and the supreme Sovereign of Ireland espoused the cause of the injured husband. The story was made by Moore the subject of one of his most popular ballads. Dermot fled the country and threw himself at the feet of the English monarch, Henry II., to whom he offered allegiance. There was a combination of conditions peculiarly favourable to Dermot's desire for vengeance upon his countrymen, from whom he had had to seek safety by flight. The Norman rulers of England were a race even more formidable and enterprising as invaders than the Danes, and they had long been casting eager eyes upon the island that lay at the North-West. The ruler of the Christian Church at that time, Pope Adrian IV., the only Englishman who ever filled the Papal throne, had before this given to Henry II. a Bull of Authority over Ireland, and now the time seemed most convenient to the Norman King for making himself the master of Ireland. He did not make any decided movement on his own account at first, but looked on encouragingly while many of the Norman Barons, at the persuasion of Dermot, pre-

pared for an invasion of Ireland. One of these Barons was Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, who is best remembered by his famous appellation "Strongbow." To make the alliance between the Norman invaders and their Irish associate more firm, Strongbow married Dermot's daughter Eva. The Normans were splendid soldiers, trained to warfare under the latest developments of military science, and well provided with armour and weapons quite unfamiliar to the Irish. The Normans at first carried all before them. Still, the Irish resisted manfully, and, by a strange turn of fate, they now found reinforcements among their old enemies the Danes, who refused to submit to Norman occupation of the seaports in which they had settled. The resistance of the Irish aroused King Henry to decisive action. He had already shown himself uneasy about the influence Strongbow was obtaining over the Norman forces in Ireland, and apparently was impressed with the idea that Strongbow had the ambition to set himself up as a rival to the King himself. Henry summoned Strongbow back to England in order to obtain from him a clear explanation of his purposes. Strongbow was too busily engaged in war at the time to obey even the royal command, but when he found an opportunity, after an important success, he returned to England and came to a thorough understanding with

his Sovereign. The result was that Henry called together a great Norman army, led it himself into Ireland, crushed all resistance offered to his conquering progress, accomplished his Norman invasion, and made Ireland a part of his dominions.

CHAPTER III

THE NORMAN SETTLEMENT

FROM the time of the Norman Conquest the history of Ireland is associated with that of Great Britain. But the sentiments of the Irish never became thoroughly assimilated with those of the conquerors. Ireland was incorporated with the Norman Sovereignty of England, but her individuality was never absorbed into that of the ruling race. Most of the great Irish Chiefs, seeing no hope of successful resistance, accepted the rule of King Henry II., and swore allegiance to him, but others held out to the last. It may seem a curious fact that the strongest and longest resistance to the Norman power was found in the northern part of Ireland, now the province of Ulster. Henry went to work to organize the country after his own

fashion, and set up some great institutions which have kept their undisputed place up to the present day. He laid the foundation of the legal system and established the courts of law, which no subsequent revolution has endeavoured to disestablish. He divided the island into counties. But he also introduced the feudal system, as it prevailed in England, in place of the principle of land tenure and the arrangement between Chieftain and people which had existed in Ireland from the earliest days. His new systems of government were intended mainly for the security and benefit of the new settlers, and for a time, at least, the native Irish were allowed to maintain the old systems which they had derived from the Brehon laws.

Henry prudently refrained from any attempt to effect a complete revolution in the social and economic principles of the conquered race. It was not until a later time that the policy came into force which had for its object the transformation of the island into a mere dependency of England, compelled to adopt English systems and methods. Henry accomplished one great change before he left Ireland, as to the results of which the writers of history have ever since been engaged in controversy. He adopted a system of what must be called confiscation with regard to the lands of the

Chieftains and the Septs he had reduced to submission, and divided these lands amongst his followers, with the avowed object of establishing a Norman settlement in Ireland. It may be admitted that he did no worse than most other conquerors have done at all times with the land of those they had conquered, but Henry's policy had unquestionably the effect of making the whole native population hostile to the Sovereign power of England.

The Irish Celts were devoted to the traditions of their ancestors, and no power in any human system could reconcile them to the new principles of ownership, or to the Normans as lords of the soil. For many years the history of Ireland told of nothing but continuous struggles between the Irish inhabitants and the Norman settlers, mingled with much occasional strife between one Irish Chieftain and another. The cause of these latter struggles is not to be found merely in the tendency to jealousy and disunion among Irish ruling families. Many of the Irish Chiefs had sworn allegiance to the Conqueror and accepted his support, while others held out to the last against him. The hatred of those who accepted the new conditions for those who refused to acknowledge them must have been as intense as the hatred of the conquering Normans for the native Chiefs who resisted their rule.

Ireland then became divided into four sections. By far the largest was made up of those Irish who held out against the invaders, and whose nearest approach to a pacific condition was that state of sullen, indomitable opposition which only waits for an opportunity to attempt a new uprising. Next came the Chiefs and their followers who submitted to Norman rule because they saw no means of getting rid of it, and were ready to accept any advantages it might bring. These two sections were always in more or less open hostility. Then came the Norman settlers, who were constantly increasing because of the attractions held out to them by royal grants of land. Finally, there were the Danes at the sea-ports, whose first desire was to be allowed to carry on their occupations without disturbance, and who were ready, if occasion tempted, to offer their services to that section of disputants from whom they might expect the greatest benefit. The Norman Barons built castles and strongholds wherever they settled, ruled the people after the feudal fashion, and were their own law-makers. The estate of a Norman Baron was something very like a fortified camp, and his jurisdiction was limited only by the amount of armed force he could command. Everywhere outside these limits was the Celtic population, lying in wait for any chance of recovering the soil from the invaders.

Some of the invaders, when they had made homes in the island, grew into a genuine love for the country, and were proud in the hope that their names might become associated with its history. There was much in the scenery and atmosphere of Ireland as well qualified to exercise an influence over these new-comers as over the native race. Ireland is marvellously picturesque in its landscape, and its climate lends it a peculiar charm in keeping with the outlines of its hills, the melancholy beauty of its lakes, and even the monotonous level of its low-lying inland regions. Almost everywhere around the coasts the island is hilly, while most of the interior is flat. Some parts are even swamp-like, and these gain from the soft gray atmosphere around them a poetic beauty unlike any that could be given to an expanse of flat land under a blazing sun. There are magnificent harbours here and there around the coast, with in most places a background of hill or mountain, making each great indentation of the shore a picture in itself. There are many rivers, some broad and rapid, some narrow, all alike charming. Edmund Spenser, who lived for a long time by one of these rivers, has celebrated in some of his noblest lines the loveliness of the Avondhu, which he tells us "of the Englishmen is called Blackwater." The most famous lakes in the country are the Lakes

of Killarney in the south and Lough Neagh in the north, and they might well challenge comparison with Windermere or Loch Katrine, Lucerne or Maggiore. The Irish lakes have not the bright skies and glowing sun of Switzerland or Italy, but their soft clouds and gray poetic atmosphere lend them a beauty entirely their own. The Irish lake and mountain scenery is, on the whole, less bold and broken than the Scotch, but more varied than that of England, and has a charm of soft melancholy which harmonizes with the poetic dreamings of Irish legendary literature. Every lake, mountain, and valley has its own legend. On the Lakes of Killarney Irish boatmen still describe the foam-crested waves flung out by some waterfall as "O'Donoghue's horses," O'Donoghue being the patronymic of a great house, whose descendants have come down to our own times. The traveller who sails over Loch Neagh is told of the buried city whose towers may be seen shining beneath the waters. With the first dawn of Christianity upon the island the building of great churches and abbeys began almost everywhere, and the ruins of some of these are still a peculiar feature of Irish landscape. Even the marshy regions have a charm for the artistic eye, and are haunted by poetic legends. The most unsympathetic stranger travelling through the island could hardly describe it

as a natural home for the prosaic and the commonplace.

It is not surprising that many of the Norman invaders who had eyes to see and hearts to feel should have yielded to the witchery of this country so new to them, and have become permanent settlers there. A new race grew up of Norman or English invaders, who were proud in later days to be described as more Irish than the Irish themselves. Most of these families can be traced through history by the Norman prefix of Fitz, as the Fitzgeralds, the Fitzmaurices, Fitzpatricks, and many others. The Fitzgeralds were probably the most numerous, and gave the title of Geraldines to the new order of settlers. Many of their descendants took a leading part in all the Irish uprisings against English rule down to the days when Lord Edward Fitzgerald was one of the leaders in the rebellion of 1798. So thoroughly is this Geraldine race associated with Irish nationality that the name of Fitzgerald would now seem to the ordinary English reader as distinctly Hibernian as O'Donoghue or O'Neill.

Except for this gradual and peculiar blending, it may be said that while the history of Ireland was becoming more and more a part of England's history, the Irish populations in general showed no signs of accepting English rule or becoming to any extent Anglicized. The land question in Ireland has always been

the great trouble to English legislators. The complete revolution effected in the system of Irish land tenure after the Norman settlement was always regarded by the vast majority of the Irish as an outrageous act of tyranny. The Irish depended for the most part on the culture of the soil, and under the old patriarchal system that culture was so carried on as to identify with it the comfort and growing prosperity of the cultivator while he kept on doing his work well, as directly as it provided for the dignity of the local Chieftain. It was a sort of Communism in which the proportionate rights of the occupier were as clearly recognised and firmly maintained as those of the landlord—if I may use this modern word. The great change in the national mode of life was the more unwelcome because it was the result of a foreign invasion and conquest, the expulsion of the old-time Chieftains and heads of families, and the settling of foreign masters over the conquered people. The Irish tiller of the soil had not only to accept a system of land tenure entirely strange to all his national traditions, but also to accept the presence of a foreign landlord whose language and habits and sympathies were alike unintelligible to him.

The assimilation between the settlers from England and the native populations of Ireland was peculiarly distasteful to the English Government. The rulers in England felt

bound to do something to prevent this unwelcome alliance. In 1295 a law was passed which prohibited, under severe penalty, the adoption of the Irish dress by Norman settlers. The statute never had any real effect, for just then the ruling powers in England were too much engrossed with their difficulties at home to be able to enforce their decrees in Ireland. After the defeat of the English at Bannockburn by Robert Bruce, affairs in Ireland became more troublesome than ever to the English Sovereign, and the Irish Chieftains actually organized a formidable rebellion. Edward Bruce, brother of the victorious Robert, came over to Ireland to help the insurrection, which gave him a welcome opportunity for paying off national grievances against England. It is an undoubted fact that many of the Norman Barons in Ireland actually joined the forces of Edward Bruce and the Irish. Edward Bruce was crowned King of Ireland, and the insurrection for a while seemed likely to carry all before it. The English Sovereign rallied all the forces he could command for what seemed an almost desperate effort, and he gained a complete victory over his Irish, Anglo-Irish, and Scottish opponents. In this battle Edward Bruce lost his life.

The victory, however, did not accomplish much for the pacification of Ireland. In a certain sense it made things worse. The

Anglo-Irish nobles who had not thrown off their allegiance to the English Sovereign saw only too plainly what an immense effort it had cost him to send into Ireland an army strong enough to defeat the insurgents and their allies in the open field. They knew they could not count on the English Government for continuous protection if the great majority of the Irish were still bitterly opposed to them. It was one thing to gather together an army strong enough to win a single battle, and quite another to maintain such a force in Ireland as should assure the safety of the settlers who professed allegiance to English rule. The result was that many of the settlers who had up to this time resisted the process of amalgamation with the Irish Chieftains began to find that they could secure quieter daily lives for themselves by following in the steps of the Geraldines. Statute after statute was passed to prohibit this. The famous Parliament of Kilkenny in 1367 passed laws which proclaimed the heaviest penalties against any English in Ireland who adopted Irish names, customs, or even costume.

It should be explained that the Parliament of Kilkenny was one of a series of assemblies instituted by the English Government after the fashion of the Parliament then existing in England. These Parliaments constituted the first rude attempts at a system of constitutional

government, and were, after their imperfect fashion, the predecessors of the Parliamentary system prevailing in Great Britain at the present day. The King summoned an Upper House, consisting of lay peers and the higher clergy, and a Lower House made up of the Knights of the Shires and burgesses. These chambers were called together with the object of enabling the Sovereign to receive trustworthy advice from the chosen and loyal representatives of the different orders in the country. But when this system was set up in Ireland it was fenced around by so many limitations that it became merely a convocation of those who were openly hostile to the claims of the native population. Those parts of the country which were wholly in the hands of the native Irish or of the Anglo-Irish were not invited to send representatives to either House. This curious anomaly, the Parliament of Ireland, was summoned at irregular intervals by the King, and met, now in Dublin, now in Drogheda, now in Kilkenny. The whole attempt at the creation of a Parliament in Ireland under such conditions must seem to modern readers to have very little to do even with the earliest and rudest growth of the representative principle. But it is certain that if the English Sovereigns who successively endeavoured to maintain the conquest of Ireland had allowed the Irish people to express their views through any

form of representation, that expression would have embodied itself in the demand for Ireland's absolute independence.

It is quite obvious that the rule of the conqueror can, at its earliest stages, only be maintained by the sword. If the conquering race be inspired by wise, just, and generous counsels, they may win the conquered into willing acceptance of their rule; but the conquerors of Ireland at the time of this Kilkenny Parliament had not advanced far enough in civilization to trouble themselves with moral or philosophical speculations as to the best manner of winning the friendship of those they strove to govern. The Parliament of Kilkenny took energetic measures against the growing amalgamation of the English invaders and the Irish. One of these measures decreed that an English settler who married an Irish woman should forfeit his estate and be put to death, the death itself being preceded by the disemboweling process, which made a part of capital punishment down to a much later period. Macaulay has said somewhere that it was not likely a disloyal subject could feel himself won back to loyalty while the hangman was grabbing at his entrails. It is not likely that the English settler in Ireland who married an Irish wife would have felt loyal devotion to the Sovereign while the hangman was performing that peculiar ceremonial.

Fortunately, these atrocious enactments were not carried out as often as the ruling powers in England might have desired. The English Government had not the strength to enforce such a policy in many instances, and the statutes passed by the Parliament of Kilkenny were doomed to comparative failure on both sides. They failed to satisfy the vengeance of the conquerors, and they further embittered the mood of the half-conquered. Meanwhile England had so many troubles of her own that she could not devote herself exclusively to the subjugation of Ireland.

Richard II., King of England, was in Ireland with a large force, endeavouring to reduce the whole island to submission, when the tidings came to him that Bolingbroke had landed "upon the naked shore at Ravenspurgh." Richard hurried back to England with the hope of putting down his cousin's enterprise, but he utterly failed, and had to resign the crown. Bolingbroke became Henry IV. Richard was imprisoned for a while in the Tower, and is believed to have been murdered afterwards at Pontefract Castle. The long struggles between the rival houses of York and Lancaster were carried on in Ireland as well as in England. The Norman families settled on Irish soil were divided, as their kinsmen were in England, and for a time the Irish national question was put in the background. Civil war

went on in both islands until after the defeat and death of Richard III. on Bósworth Field. Henry VII. had not time at first to give himself much trouble about Ireland. Gradually, however, his attention became drawn to the fact that the Irish Chieftains were becoming more powerful throughout the country than they had been since the Norman invasion. Henry at last determined to reduce the country to complete subjection by a process which he believed to be more statesmanlike and to promise a more abiding effect than a momentary conquest on the battlefield. Up to this time no comprehensive attempt had been made to establish by force in Ireland the whole system of government and law prevailing in England. The "Parliaments" held from time to time in Ireland were, indeed, moulded after the fashion of the English Parliaments; but as they were allowed to retain, in the one country as in the other, something professing to be a representative principle, the Irish Parliament, with its Geraldine members, was never quite submissive to the wishes of the English Sovereigns. Henry and his advisers were of opinion that the time had come to assert the complete supremacy of the English constitution and laws over the unmanageable and indomitable Irish people.

We now come to an event of the greatest importance in Irish history, the mission of

Sir Edward Poynings to Ireland as Lord Deputy. Henry sent him over to establish a change in the system of Ireland's government which should, to begin with, make the authority of the Irish Parliament wholly and avowedly subservient to that of the Sovereign and Parliament of England. Poynings went to Ireland with a powerful army, and convened in the name of the King such a Parliament at Drogheda as best suited his master's purpose. He succeeded in passing through that Parliament the measure ever since famous as Poynings' Law. We shall hear of this measure again and again during the present narrative. It was passed on September 13, 1494. It declared and established two principles: the first, that all laws existing in England should apply with equal validity to Ireland; the second, that no measures, even though applying to Ireland alone, should be initiated by an Irish Parliament without the preliminary consent of the English Sovereign and Council. The Irish Parliament was thus to be prevented from even discussing any proposal which the King of England did not wish to have passed into law. The English statesmanship of the time seemed now satisfied that the whole question was settled for ever. Did Ireland want a Parliament? Behold she had a Parliament, although that Parliament could not even listen to a proposal for any measure without

the previous consent of the English King; and what more could any loyal and reasonable country desire?

King Henry seemed to believe that the main difficulties were now removed from the way of English government in Ireland, and that there was nothing more to be done so far as he was concerned. There is a story told of Henry VII. which is believed to have some historical foundation. One of the most powerful Geraldine nobles in that day was the Earl of Kildare, and it is said that Henry had received admonitions that Kildare's influence might be a danger in England's way. Henry expressed a wish to know what was to be said against the Earl. He was told that all Ireland could not control the Earl of Kildare. "Very well," was the reply attributed to Henry, "then let the Earl of Kildare control all Ireland." There was a certain humour in Henry's answer, but he soon showed he was not merely jesting. He left to the Earl of Kildare the full authority of governing Ireland in the best way he could. This probably seemed to Henry the easiest way of getting out of the difficulty. To govern Ireland after the fashion in which an English Sovereign would have her governed seemed to him to mean nothing but unceasing civil war, for which he had now no inclination. If the Earl of Kildare or any other man had influence enough

to keep Ireland out of actual rebellion, and with any semblance of submission to the English monarch, Henry probably thought that no more satisfactory plan could be devised for maintaining the connection and sparing England the cost and trouble of another invasion and conquest. The statesmanship of the time does not seem to have thought of consulting the national feelings of the Irish. It did not occur to the advisers of Henry VII. that in the exercise of such a policy might be found the surest and indeed the only possible way to a genuine union of interests and affections between England and Ireland.

CHAPTER IV

THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS

THE reign of Henry VIII. proved to be a time of much excitement and disturbance in Ireland. The Geraldines and their followers had the practical control of the whole region known as the Pale—the region mainly colonized by the English settlers. The Pale comprised the greater part of the counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath, and Kildare. Nor were Henry and his advisers impressed merely by the fact that the Lords of the Pale were establishing a rule of their own over the regions where they had settled, a rule becoming more and more independent of any control which royal authority could exert. Even that would have been enough to arouse the jealousy and impatience of the English Sovereign, but Henry also saw that

the Geraldines and the other great families who were more or less allied with them were gradually forming friendly alliances with many of the native Chieftains, and that a renewed movement for Irish independence appeared to be already foreshadowed. Henry took prompt and stern measures. Gerald, the ninth Earl of Kildare, the son of the Lord Deputy mentioned in the preceding chapter, was now becoming a powerful personage. He had rendered great service to the English cause. He had successfully resisted some Irish invasions of the Pale, defeating the Irish with much slaughter and putting to death several of their leaders. King Henry appointed Kildare Lord Deputy of Ireland, and he is said to have accompanied the King to France in June, 1520, and to have been present with him on the famous Field of the Cloth of Gold.

After his return to Ireland Kildare made many enemies among the loyalists, and became engaged in rivalry with other resident English nobles. A new Deputy was appointed, the Earl of Ormond, and then set in a bitter feud between the two Earls and their followers. In those days, if one great nobleman got into a quarrel with another, it might be taken for granted that each would accuse his opponent of treason against the Sovereign. The reciprocal complaints of Kildare and Ormond appear to

have been submitted to a sort of court of arbitration under the royal authority. Some of the conditions suggested by the arbitrators were that both the Earls should be pledged to abstain from making war without the consent of the King, should cease from levying taxes of their own on the loyal regions of the Pale, should prevail upon their followers to acknowledge the laws made by the King's Government, and that each should give security by a bond of 1,000 marks to keep the peace for a year. This curious page of history illustrates clearly the condition of things then prevailing throughout that part of Ireland. These disputing Earls were not Irish Chieftains. They were English nobles, who had each held the highest office in Ireland under Henry's Sovereign authority. Each was supposed to be "fighting for his own hand," endeavouring to make himself complete master for his own purposes of as much of Ireland as he could, while professing an unvarying allegiance to the Sovereign of England. The dispute was settled, but broke out again and again, and the King had more than once to appoint new commissions or courts of arbitration to bring the troubles to some kind of settlement. Kildare was afterwards again appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the old story began anew.

It is not necessary to follow the story much farther. Kildare was accused of having en-

tered into treasonable alliances with Irish Chieftains, and this was a much more serious charge than any accusation of attempting to make himself master of the lives and liberties of the King's loyal subjects while still acting professedly as the King's Lord Deputy. Kildare was summoned to England to give account of his conduct, and was committed to the Tower of London. A report of his execution in the Tower reached Ireland almost at once, and led to some striking events there. It seems to be historically established that Kildare was not executed, but that after a long confinement his health broke down, and he died quietly in his prison. His son, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, had for some time held the office of Vice-Deputy in Ireland, having received the appointment from his father. He was a brave, brilliant, and open-hearted young man, with a strong affection for the country of his adoption as well as for the country of his birth, but he was impulsive and incautious, and fond of display. The manner in which he adorned the war costumes of himself and his immediate retainers with fringes of silk and lace procured for him the nickname of "Silken Thomas." When Thomas Fitzgerald heard of his father's imprisonment and received the added story of his immediate execution, he took counsel with some of his close friends, the O'Neills and O'Connors,

and all agreed that an effort must be made to free the country from the arbitrary rule of the English King. "Silken Thomas" made up his mind not only to lead a rebellion against the English Sovereign, but to precede his acts of war by a public renunciation of his allegiance. Lord Thomas rode to the council chamber of Dublin in splendid array, attended by some hundred and forty retainers in becoming panoply. He entered the council chamber and took his place as Vice-Deputy at the head of the table, while his armed followers rushed in and filled whatever space had been left in the great hall. Then Lord Thomas arose and delivered a speech, in which he renounced his allegiance to the English Sovereign, and declared that he was no longer the Deputy of King Henry, but his foe. He announced that his desire now was rather to meet King Henry in the field than to serve him any longer in office. The Chancellor and others at the council table made earnest and even impassioned appeals to the young nobleman not to commit himself to so rash a course, but "Silken Thomas" was not to be dissuaded. The story goes that his Irish harper had followed him into the council chamber, and, understanding only Irish, began to fear that the interchange of talk at the table boded some wavering in Lord Thomas's purpose. He suddenly intoned a Gaelic poem inciting his lord to go

bravely on, and telling him that he had already lingered too long in the hall of his enemies. It is not likely that Lord Thomas needed any incentive, but, as the tale goes, the recited words ended all parley. "Silken Thomas" rose to his feet and declared that he preferred "rather to die with valiantnesse and libertie than to live under King Henrie in bondage and villanie." Then he flung on the table the sword of State he had been carrying as Vice-Deputy, and left the council chamber with his crowd of armed retainers. There was no force immediately at the disposal of the Chancellor which could have prevented Lord Thomas from going his way. The Council promptly issued an order to the Lord Mayor of Dublin for the immediate arrest of "Silken Thomas," but the Lord Mayor had a prudent mind, and did not see by what means he could carry out such an order.

"Silken Thomas" raised a formidable rebellion against the power of the English Sovereign, and a war went on which for a long time proved favourable to his cause. The English troops, however, had resources of modern artillery and warlike munitions which were new to the Irish, and the prospects of the struggle began to show darkly against "Silken Thomas" and his followers. In the meantime authentic news came to Ireland that the Earl of Kildare had died quietly in

the Tower of London, and "Silken Thomas" succeeded to the title—a barren title, as it proved to be. The new Earl of Kildare made unavailing efforts to obtain the intervention of some Continental power in his struggle against England. Altogether the war lasted fourteen months, and it ended in the Earl's surrender. There is much dispute as to whether his surrender was absolute or conditional, but it is enough to know that "Silken Thomas" was sent to the Tower of London, and that on February 3, 1537, he was hanged on the gallows at Tyburn after an imprisonment of sixteen months. His five uncles, after imprisonment of eleven months, met the same death. "Silken Thomas" was but twenty-four when his life thus ended, and his short career came to be illuminated and enshrined in poetry and romance as well as in history.

The religious and political movements which brought about the Reformation were the source of new enmities and new struggles in Ireland. By far the greater part of the Irish remained absolutely faithful to the form of Christian worship which had been established in the island by St. Patrick. It is a curious fact, which must interest all students of Irish history, that some of the noble families who had settled in Ireland and conformed to the doctrines of the Protestant Church remained still faithful to the principle

of Irish nationality. It will be seen in subsequent chapters that almost every rebellion in Ireland against the Sovereignty of England, down even to times in the recollection of living men, had some descendant of one of these families amongst its leaders. The great calamity for Ireland was that to political troubles were added, from the days of Henry VIII., religious troubles of the most wasting and disastrous order. The severest edicts were enacted against any of the Irish or Anglo-Irish families who did not at once give in their allegiance to the English Sovereigns and publicly renounce the spiritual authority of the Pope. During the reign of Edward VI. a policy of something like extermination was undertaken against the Roman Catholics and against those whom we may call the Nationalists in Ireland. There was a short period of political and religious reaction under the rule of Queen Mary, but when Elizabeth came to the throne the policy for the suppression of the Roman Catholic religion and the spirit of Irish Nationalism went on with greater severity than ever. The Roman Catholic Church was suppressed in Ireland, so far as Acts of Parliament and the power of the Sovereign could suppress it ; but the Irish Catholic priests and monks, and the preachers and teachers who came from the Continent to help them, still preached the doctrines of their Church all over the hill-

sides and throughout the valleys and forests and villages of the country, in defiance of all pains and penalties. Elizabeth must, of course, bear the historical responsibility for the oppressive policy which strove to crush out the Irish national faith; but it is only reasonable to believe that in many instances her representatives acted with an uncompromising rigour not always in accordance with the disposition of the Queen herself.

The condition of Ireland was now one of chronic rebellion. The political or national warfare, the fight for Irish independence, had been embittered and infuriated to the last degree by the struggle of the old form of religion against the new. The Roman Catholics were not allowed any chance of coming into political harmony with the conquering race. The ordinary man may submit when a system of political rule is bearing down upon him which he sees no chance of resisting with success, but if he must also abjure the Faith of his fathers or hold his home and life at the mercy of his conquerors, he will naturally feel compelled to try the last and to die for his creed. This was the feeling in the hearts of the Irish Catholics. The defence of the ancestral soil became identified with the defence of the ancestral faith. So strongly did these sentiments take hold of the great majority of the Irish that almost any foreign Power which happened to be the

enemy of England was regarded as the friend of Ireland. The possessions of the Catholic Church having been confiscated, the next movement of the English conquerors was to confiscate the estates of the Irish Chieftains who had stood out against England's rule. The estates even of some of the Geraldines were thus declared to be the possession of the Crown, and their lands were distributed among English noblemen and settlers who had shown themselves loyal subjects of the Sovereign and were ready to colonize the island with imported Englishmen. This process of colonization did not go very far. Adventurers of all kinds were eager to come over to Ireland on the chance of making a good business out of the prizes held out to English settlers. But the English man of business who desired to cultivate his proffered possessions in peace and quietness was not much tempted by the prospect of having to fight for his acres and his life with the dispossessed Irish, whom all the forces of the Crown had not been able to extirpate.

This time of trouble called forth some powerful champions of the Irish National cause. One of these, Shane O'Neil, has been celebrated in many a popular ballad. The head of the house to which he belonged had acknowledged allegiance to Henry VIII. and received the title of Earl of Tyrone. The English title carried with it, according to

English law, the principle of hereditary succession ; but when the first Earl died the clan of O'Neil refused to adopt the English practice, and, according to the Irish principle of Tanistry, chose as his successor the member of the House for whom they had the highest regard. This was Shane O'Neil, who was a younger and not even a legitimate son of the Earl of Tyrone, but whose energy, courage, and strong national sentiments had already made him the hero of his sept. Shane O'Neil at once proclaimed himself the champion of Irish national independence. Queen Elizabeth, amid all her troubles with foreign States, had to pour large numbers of troops into Ireland, and these troops, as all historians admit, overran the country in the most reckless and merciless manner. Shane O'Neil, however, held his own, and began to prove himself a formidable opponent of English power.

The evidence of history leaves little or no doubt that Elizabeth connived at a plot for the removal of O'Neil by assassination. This project did not come to anything, and the Queen tried another policy. She was a woman not merely of high intellect but also of artistic feeling, and it would seem as if the picturesque figure of Shane O'Neil had aroused some interest in her. She proposed to enter into terms with the new "Lord of Ulster," as he now declared himself, and in-

vited him to visit her Court in England. O'Neil seems to have accepted with great goodwill this opportunity of seeing a life hitherto unknown to him, and he soon appeared at Court. We read that O'Neil and his retainers presented themselves in their saffron-coloured shirts and shaggy mantles, bearing battle-axes as their weapons, amid the stately gentlemen, the contemporaries of Essex and Raleigh, who thronged the Court of the great Queen. A meeting took place on January 6, 1562. Froude tells us the effect produced upon the Court by the appearance of O'Neil and his followers: "The council, the peers, the foreign ambassadors, bishops, aldermen, dignitaries of all kinds, were present in State, as if at the exhibition of some wild animal of the desert. O'Neil stalked in, his saffron mantle sweeping round and round him, his hair curling on his back and clipped short below the eyes, which gleamed from under it with a grey lustre, frowning, fierce, and cruel. Behind him followed his gallow-glasses, bareheaded and fair-haired, with shirts of mail which reached beneath their knees, a wolf's skin flung across their shoulders, and short, broad battle-axes in their hands." O'Neil made a formal act of submission to the Queen, and negotiations set in for a definite and lasting arrangement. Nothing came of it. O'Neil seems to have understood that he was acting under a

promise of safe conduct, and was to be confirmed in the ownership of his estates in return for his submission. But whatever may have been the misunderstanding, it is certain that these terms were not carried out according to O'Neil's expectation. He was detained in London in qualified captivity, and was informed that he could only be restored to his lands when he had engaged to make war against his former allies the Scots, had pledged himself not to make war without the consent of the English Government, and to set up no claim of supremacy over other Chiefs in Ireland.

O'Neil seems to have proved himself skilful as a diplomatist, and he greatly gratified the Queen by paying intense deference to all her suggestions, and even by modestly requesting that she would choose a wife for him. He seems to have agreed to what he did not intend to carry out. Some terms were understood to be arranged at last, and on May 5, 1562, a Royal proclamation was issued declaring that in future he was to be regarded as a good and loyal subject of the Queen. Shane returned to Ireland, and made known to his friends that the articles of agreement had been forced upon him under peril of captivity or death, and that he could not regard them as binding. He went so far to maintain the terms of the treaty as to begin a war against the Scots, and sent the Queen

58 O'NEIL'S DEFEAT AND DEATH

a list of his captives in token of his sincerity. But he still insisted that he had never made peace with the Queen except by her own seeking; that his ancestors were Kings of Ulster, and that Ulster was his kingdom and should continue to be his. He soon after applied to Charles IX., King of France, to send him 5,000 men to assist him in expelling the English from Ireland. Then war set in again between the English Lord Deputy and Shane O'Neil. Defeated in many encounters, O'Neil again tried to make terms with the Queen, and again applied to the King of France for the help of an army to drive the English from Ireland and restore the Catholic faith. By this time the Scottish settlers in Ulster, who appear to have once been as much disliked by the English Government as the Irish themselves, had turned completely against him. His end was not in keeping with his soldierly and picturesque career. After a severe defeat he took refuge with some old tribal enemies of his, who at first professed to receive him as a friend and find a shelter for him. A quarrel sprang up at a drinking festival during the June of 1567, and Shane and most of his companions were killed in the affray. It is not easy to come to a satisfactory estimate of the character of Shane O'Neil. Some English historians treat him as if he were a mere monster of treachery and violent crime. Most Irish

legends and stories convert him into a perfect hero and patriot; while other Irish writers of graver order are inclined to dwell altogether upon the wrongs done to him and the perfidies employed to ensnare him by those who acted for the English Government. It is necessary to keep always in mind that in their dealings with the Irish native populations the English Government only too frequently employed deception and treachery, thus giving the Irish Chieftains what they considered warrant enough for playing a similar game. Shane O'Neil was very unscrupulous in his methods of dealing with his enemies; he was a man of sensuous passions and fierce hatreds, but he was gifted with splendid courage, a remarkable capacity for soldiership, and much of the diplomatist's or statesman's art. An Irish essayist, who writes with much judgment and moderation on the subject, describes Shane as "a thorough Celtic Chief, not of the traditional type, but such as centuries of prolonged struggle for existence had made the Chieftains of his nation." This seems the only fair standard by which to judge his career. No Irish family gave more trouble in its time to the English conquerors than did the O'Neils, and Shane O'Neil was in some of his qualities the most extraordinary man of the family. There were other O'Neils who bequeathed to their country's history a brighter and purer fame,

and of whose characters we can form a common estimate with less chance of dispute, but in Shane O'Neil we see a genuine type of the ancestral Irish Chieftain brought into dealings and antagonism with the advances and the emissaries of a newer civilization.

CHAPTER V

THE TYRONES AND TYRCONNELS

THIS prolonged period of incessant war brought about the almost complete devastation of wide tracts of country in Ireland. Historians and poets tell the same sad story. Holinshed says that except in the cities or towns the traveller might journey for miles without meeting man, woman, child, or even beast. Edmund Spenser declared that the story of many among the inhabitants, and the picture one could see of their miserable state, was such that "any stony heart would rue the same." Mr. Froude affirms that in Munster alone there had been so much devastation that "the lowing of a cow or the sound of a ploughboy's whistle was not to be heard from Valentia to the rock of Cashel." It was made a boast by at least

one of those engaged in ruling Ireland on behalf of the Queen that he had reduced some of the populations so deeply down that they preferred slaughter in the field to death by starvation. When this supposed pacification of Munster was accomplished the Province was divided into separate settlements, to be held under the Crown, at hardly more than a nominal quit-rent, by any loyal settlers who were willing to hold the land as vassals of the Sovereign and fight for their lives. All these lands were obtained by the confiscation of the estates of the rebellious Chieftains. A new Deputy, Sir John Perrot, convened a Parliament in Ireland. There was something farcical as well as grim in calling together a Parliament under such conditions, when the delegates were supposed to be convened that they might give frank and sincere advice to the representative of the Sovereign. Some of the Irish Chieftains who had given their allegiance to the English Sovereign not only accepted the Deputy's invitation, but actually presented themselves in full English costume. In former Parliaments, when Irish Chieftains were loyal enough to take part in the sittings, they still wore the costume of their septs; but now, after so many struggles, some of the Irish nobles thought they would do better by making a complete submission to the conqueror, and inaugurating the new season of peace and prosperity by adopting the

costume of their rulers. This Parliament naturally proved most obedient. Whatever the Deputy wished, it promptly adopted. More estates were confiscated to the Crown, and the land thus obtained was parcelled out on the cheapest terms of holding to English nobles, and also to mere English adventurers, who undertook to colonize it with workmen and traders from England. But it was soon found that English traders and labourers were not easily to be persuaded into the risks of a settlement under these conditions, and the new owners were compelled in most cases either to put up with such labour as the country afforded or to allow the soil to lie barren for the time. The scheme which the rulers had in mind—a scheme which meant nothing less than the substitution of an English for an Irish population—proved a failure. An English nobleman endowed with the spirit of adventure might be tempted to accept an estate in Ireland on the chance of making a brilliant career there, winning the favour of his Sovereign, and becoming a great figure in the eyes of his own Court and his own country. A mere adventurer might be as ready to try his fortunes in Ireland as in some unexplored part of the new world beyond the Atlantic. But the ordinary trader or working man of English birth and ways did not at that time feel inclined to give up his business and his home to venture

on a settlement in that wild western island, where all reports told him that every man's hand was against every other man, and that the loyal subjects of the Queen were hunted like wild game by the uncivilized Irish.

Sir John Perrot was not a man qualified to make the situation any better than he had found it. A man of quick and violent temper, he succeeded in making enemies of some of the Irish Chieftains who had lately been coming over to the service of the Crown, and converted some of his friends in office into his most bitter enemies. Sir John Perrot had to be withdrawn, and a new Deputy appointed in his place. Such a representative of English government was not likely to encourage many of the Irish Chieftains to accept the advances of an English Deputy or to believe that they could secure safety for themselves and their lands by submitting to his rule. The new Deputy, Sir William Russell, had a hard task before him.

One of the most important and famous struggles made during these years against English dominion was led by Hugh O'Neil. This celebrated Irish leader was the grandson of that Shane O'Neil whom Henry VIII. had created Earl of Tyrone. He had led thus far a very different life from that usually led by an Irish Chieftain. The ruling powers were at first inclined to make a favourite of

him, and confirmed him in his earldom and estates. He was brought over when very young to England, and we learn that even in the brilliant Court of Queen Elizabeth he was distinguished for gifts and graces of body and mind. For a long time Tyrone seemed a loyal supporter of English rule. He commanded a troop in the Queen's service, and even took part in the suppression of risings in his own country, co-operating with the Earl of Essex in the Ulster wars and the settlement of Antrim. One romantic incident of his life brought him into personal antagonism with Sir Henry Bagnal, the Lord Marshal of Ireland. Hugh O'Neil had been left a widower, and he fell in love with Bagnal's beautiful sister. Bagnal highly disapproved of the match, but as the lady was heart and soul in love with the Irish Chieftain, her brother's opposition was vain. She eloped with her lover and married him. Bagnal became O'Neil's determined enemy. It may be that Sir Henry Bagnal did his best to prejudice the ruling authorities against O'Neil, and at that time no very substantial evidence was needed to set up a charge of treason against an Irish Chieftain.

Perhaps when O'Neil returned to his own country he was recalled to national sentiments by the sight of oppression there, and it is certain that he was roused to indignation by the arbitrary imprisonment of one of his

kinsmen known as Red Hugh. When Red Hugh succeeded in escaping from prison he inspired Tyrone with a keen sense of his wrongs, and brought him into the temper of insurrection. O'Neil threw himself completely into the new movement for independence. A confederation of Irish Chieftains was organized, and O'Neil took the command. He proved himself possessed of the most genuine military talents, and he could play the part of the statesman as well as of the soldier. The confederation of Irish Chieftains soon became an embattled army, and the brothers-in-law met in arms as hostile commanders on the shores of the northern Blackwater. As one historian has well remarked, there was something positively Homeric about this struggle, in which the two men connected by marriage encountered each other as commanders of opposing armies. Events had been moving on since the marriage between Tyrone and Bagnal's sister. O'Neil's young wife had found her early grave before this last engagement between her husband and her brother. The army of Bagnal was completely defeated, and Bagnal himself was killed upon the field.

For a time victory seemed to follow Tyrone. Before long the greater part of Ireland was in the hands of the Irish forces. The Earl of Essex was sent to Ireland at the head of the largest army ever despatched from Eng-

land for the conquest of the island. But Essex does not seem to have made any serious effort. He appears to have had some idea of coming to terms with Tyrone. The two had a meeting, over which many pages of historical description and conjecture have been spent, but it is certain that so far as Essex was concerned, neither peace nor war came of his intervention. He was recalled to London. His failure in Ireland, and the trouble it brought upon him in England, only drove him into the wild movements which led to his condemnation as a traitor and to his death on the scaffold.

The place which Essex had so unsuccessfully endeavoured to hold was given to Lord Mountjoy, who proved himself a more fitting man for the work. Mountjoy was a strong man, who made up his mind from the first that he was sent to Ireland to fight the Irish. He had a great encounter with Tyrone, and Tyrone was defeated. From that moment the fortunes of the struggle seem to have turned. The resources of the Irish were very limited, and it was almost certain that if the English Government carried on the war long enough the Irish must sooner or later be defeated. It was a question of numbers and weapons and money, and in all these the English had an immense superiority. Tyrone had great hopes that a Spanish army would come to the aid of the Irish. A large

Spanish force was actually despatched for the purpose, but the news of Tyrone's defeat reached the Spaniards on their arrival, and they promptly re-embarked, and gave up what they considered a lost cause. Some of the Irish Chiefs were compelled to surrender; others fled to Spain, in the hope of stirring up some movement there against England, or at least of finding a place of shelter. Ireland was suffering almost everywhere from famine, and in many districts famine of the most ghastly order. Tyrone found it impossible to carry on the struggle for independence under such terrible conditions. There was nothing for it but to surrender and come to terms as best he could with his conquering enemy.

The times just then might have been regarded as peculiarly favourable for Tyrone. Queen Elizabeth was dead, and the son of Mary Stuart sat on the English throne. Tyrone made a complete surrender of his estates, pledged himself to enter into alliance with no foreign power against England, and even undertook to promote the introduction of English laws and customs into any part of Ireland over which he had influence. In return Tyrone received from the King the restoration of his lands and his title by letters patent, and a free pardon for his campaigns against England. He was brought to London to be presented to King James, and was treated

with great courtesy and hospitality. This aroused much anger among some of the older soldiers and courtiers in London, who did not understand why an Irish rebel should be treated as if he were a respectable member of society. Sir John Harrington expressed his opinions very freely in letters which are still preserved. "I have lived," he wrote, "to see that damnable rebel Tyrone brought to England, honoured, and well liked. Oh ! what is there that does not prove the inconstancy of worldly matters ? I adventured perils by sea and land, was near starving, ate horseflesh in Munster, and all to quell that man, who now smileth in peace at those who did harass their lives to destroy him ; and now doth Tyrone dare us, old commanders, with his presence and protection."

When Tyrone returned to his own country he found that the reign of peace and reconciliation between England and Ireland was as far off as ever. Tyrone had believed it was fortunate for him to have made terms of peace in King James's reign and not in Elizabeth's. But he soon found that his hopes of a better time coming were premature. James no doubt thought it good policy to secure the allegiance of a man like Tyrone by apparently generous concessions. But he had no idea of adopting any policy towards Ireland other than the old familiar policy of striving to reduce her to the condition of an

English province, with English laws, customs, costumes, and religion. The King appears to have set his mind on the complete suppression of the national religion by the enforcement of the sternest penal laws against Catholics. He was determined also to blot out whatever remained of the old Brehon laws, still dear to the memories of the people, and still cherished among the sacred traditions of the country. When King James succeeded to the throne he promised the Irish that they should have the right of practising their religion, at least in private; but he soon recalled his promise, and made it clear that those who would retain the protection of the new ruling system must abjure the faith of their fathers. Those who were put into the actual Government of the country saw that this policy could not be carried out without much resistance, and therefore decreed the complete disarmament of all Irish retainers who still acknowledged the leadership of the Chieftains. One of the greatest of these Chieftains, O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnel, was called upon to conform openly to the English Church, under pain of being proceeded against as a traitor.

The state of things he found existing on his return to Ireland would naturally have driven Tyrone into rebellion, and the rulers of the country appear to have made up their minds that he must be planning some such

rising. Tyrconnel was naturally regarded as an enemy of the same order, and the policy of the ruling powers was to anticipate their designs and condemn them in advance. Tyrone and Tyrconnel were accordingly proclaimed traitors to the King. The two Earls determined that as immediate insurrection had no chance of success, there was no safety for them but in prompt escape from the country. Then followed "the flight of the Earls." Tyrone and Tyrconnel, with their families and many of their friends and retainers, nearly a hundred persons in all, made their escape in one vessel from the Irish shore, and for twenty-one days were at the mercy of the sea and of the equinoctial winds, for they sailed about the middle of September. A story characteristic of the faith which then filled the hearts of Irish Chieftains is told. Tyrone fastened his golden crucifix to a string and drew it through the sea at the stern of the vessel, in the hope that the waves might thus be stilled. In the first week of October they landed on the shore of France, and travelled on to Rouen, receiving nothing but kindness from the French. When King James heard of their flight he at once demanded from France the surrender of the Earls, but Henry IV. refused to surrender them. Henry received the exiles with gracious and friendly greeting, but it was not thought prudent by the Earls any more than

by the French King that they should remain in France at the risk of involving the two countries in war. The Earls, with their families and followers, went into Flanders, and then on to Rome. Pope Paul V. gave them a cordial welcome, and made liberal arrangements for their maintenance, while the King of Spain showed his traditional sympathy with Ireland by settling pensions on them. Tyrconnel died soon after, in the Franciscan Church of St. Pietro di Montorio, and was laid in his grave wrapped in the robe of a Franciscan Friar. Tyrone lived for several years. He was filled in this later time by a passionate longing to see once more the loved country of his birth, and he appealed to the English Government for permission to return to Ireland and live quietly there until the end came. His request was not granted. The English authorities, no doubt, felt good reason to believe that his return to Ireland would be the cause of profound and dangerous emotion among the people who loved him and whom he loved so well. His later years in Rome were literally darkened, because his sight, which had been for some time failing, soon left him to absolute blindness. He died on July 20, 1616, having lived a life of seventy-six years. Tyrone's body was laid to rest in the same church which held the body of his comrade Tyrconnel. Their graves are side by side.

A modern writer tells us that the church which has become the tomb of the two exiled Earls stands "where the Janiculum overlooks the glory of Rome, the yellow Tiber and the Alban Hills, the deathless Coliseum, and the stretching Campagna." "Raphael had painted his Transfiguration for the grand altar; the hand of Sebastiano del Piombo had coloured the walls with the scourging of the Redeemer." The present writer has seen the graves, and even the merest stranger to the spirit of Irish history must feel impressed by the story of the two exiles who found their last resting-place enclosed by such a scene.

Yet another of the O'Neils gave serious trouble to the English. This was Sir Phelin O'Neil, who in 1641 headed a rising of the natives in Ulster against the Scotch settlers, who had been planted on the soil of which the native Chieftains were dispossessed. Phelin O'Neil's rising has often been described by English historians as "the massacre of 1641." There is no reason to describe this rebellion as a massacre, unless we regard any rebellion against constituted authority, no matter how the authority may have been constituted, as a wanton massacre. The spirit of Ireland was always, at that time and for long after, in revolt against the constituted authority. The rising of 1641 was an attempt which for a brief season carried

success along with it, and was maintained with terrible loss of life on both sides. Victory on either side was followed by a reckless and wholesale slaughter of the defeated enemies; but this was the common characteristic of all wars, more especially of civil wars, during those days, and there is no reason to believe that the followers of Sir Phelin O'Neil were any worse than their rivals and contemporaries. Mr. Goldwin Smith gives it as his opinion that during the struggle "the English and Scotch settlers perhaps exceeded the Irish in atrocity, especially when we consider their comparative civilization." He says that "the Irish population of Island Magee, though innocent of the rebellion, were massacred, man, woman, and child, by the Scotch garrison of Carrickfergus."

O'Neil was successful in the beginning, but in the meantime a great change was taking place in England. The movement had set in which led to the great Civil War, the overthrow of the monarchy for a time, the execution of Charles I., and the establishment of the Commonwealth of Cromwell. Cromwell entered Ireland at the head of what was then regarded as a great army, and his military genius soon carried all before him. Phelin O'Neil was defeated, and was afterwards tried and executed. Owen Roe O'Neil, one of the most energetic, brilliant, and devoted champions of the Irish, died

suddenly during the war, and for a long time it was the belief of the Irish, although there seems no evidence to support it, that some of his enemies had contrived his death by poison. His death was a heavy blow to the Irish cause. Cromwell was everywhere triumphant, and a new chapter was opened in the story of Ireland.

CHAPTER VI

CROMWELL, JAMES, AND WILLIAM

FOR a long time after Tyrone and Tyrconnel had gone into exile the Government of James I. had its own way in Ireland. The Irish nobles who still would fain have resisted the royal authority saw no chance of making a successful stand against it. The policy of confiscation went steadily on. Wherever it was possible an Irish owner was put out of his land and an English settler brought to fill his place. Old Irish customs were visited with new penalties, and the historic system of ancient Irish law had been by this time almost entirely eradicated. The policy of the Government was now more than ever for a thorough "plantation" of the country, the plantation of English settlers on the land in place of the evicted Irish. Now

MAP OF IRELAND

Scale of Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40



began in good earnest the English occupation of Ulster. It may seem surprising to readers of the present day that Ulster was the last of the territorial divisions to submit to English occupation. The later insurrection of Tyrone and Tyrconnel supplied the most convenient excuse for applying to the northern province the policy of confiscation. Six of the Ulster counties were at one stroke proclaimed to be the property of the Crown, and the land was parcelled out among English and Scotch commercial and trading companies. Some of the successors to these companies still retain property in Ulster. The Irish who had owned the soil or worked upon it were forced to wander over the country in quest of a living, and were in many cases reduced to a lingering death by starvation. Many of those not actually pauperized found their way to the Continent, and there took arms in the service of some Sovereign hostile to England. From that time, for many generations, almost every great army on the Continent had in its ranks and in its higher positions Irish exiles, some of whom made their names famous on foreign battle-fields in war against England.

We are so accustomed now to regard Ulster as the division of Ireland most devoted to English rule that we have to refresh our memories of history to realize that Ulster was the Irish province which held out longest

and most resolutely against English dominion. But the conquest of Ulster was practically accomplished when time and opportunity allowed it to be taken in hand. The disposal of the lands to English and Scotch companies secured every possible facility for a thorough replantation of the soil. Each of these companies brought over its own colony of traders, workers and business men, who settled down upon the land and made the very best of its resources, converting waste spaces into homes of thriving industry. There were many other settlers who had not the business capacity of the companies, and whose only object was to make all the money they could out of Ireland while the patronage of King James lasted. Many well authenticated tales are preserved of sudden fortunes made in this way, and of the means by which the work was accomplished. Some of these would make an exciting story-book, with adventures none the less interesting because of their utter audacity and unscrupulousness and their bewildering success. But, on the whole, the plantation of Ulster was conducted more nearly on business principles than any of the former attempts at the English colonization of Ireland. Efforts were made to establish manufactures in the province, and not to leave the means of men's living dependent merely on the produce of the soil.

King James died before he was able to

carry the plantation scheme much beyond the limits of Ulster. Then came Charles I., who was always in want of money, and wanted to get it more quickly than could be effected by the confiscation and redivision of estates which still remained outside the grasp of the Sovereign and his Council. Charles put into operation a new policy for the sale of religious liberty. The Irish Catholics were given to understand that they might purchase freedom of conscience and worship by making grants of money to the King. Charles soon found the most active and capable agent of his will in Thomas Wentworth, the famous Earl of Strafford, who was first Lord Deputy and afterwards Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Strafford's was the policy which he himself called "thorough." He governed Ireland in the name of his master with despotic power and a total disregard for what were even then considered constitutional principles. He no doubt reformed many abuses, extinguished much departmental corruption, and gave to many industries a new chance of development and prosperity. He was not, indeed, that "faultless monster" which the world has very rarely seen, the beneficent despot; but he was not the mere wanton despot, the English version of a mediæval Ottoman Pasha, his enemies afterwards tried to make him out. Gardiner, the historian, says in his defence

that "the choice for Ireland in the seventeenth century did not lie between absolutism and Parliamentary control, but between absolutism and anarchy." Perhaps we may admit this position and yet hold that the absolutism practised by Strafford in Ireland was not in any sense a beneficent despotism. A beneficent despot might have so ruled Ireland, just then, as to open for her a fair way into national prosperity and content. But Strafford's absolutism only expressed the deliberate purpose to make of Ireland a convenient and unresisting source of supply for the wants of Strafford's master. Whatever may have been the effect of his rule upon Ireland, influences were already growing up in England which could not long endure such a King and such a Minister.

The policy of Strafford might have gone on long enough in Ireland without check from the public opinion of England and Scotland if the conduct of Strafford's master had not already begun to light the flame of rebellion, not only in Scotland, but even in England. The fate of Strafford was soon involved in the rising movement against despotic government and perfidious statecraft, and before long the revolution had set in which sent Strafford first and Charles afterwards to the scaffold. The semblance of religious equality which Strafford introduced into his government of Ireland had much to

do with creating that feeling of almost perverse loyalty to the Stuart cause which long prevailed in Ireland. It was asserted on behalf of Strafford that, while he endeavoured to draw Ireland into conformity of religion with England, "no hair of any man's head was touched for the free exercise of his conscience." The practical interpretation of this statement is that it was open to any man in Ireland who had money to secure the right of following the religion of the Church of Rome so long as he made it worth the King's while. But even this peculiar form of concession to the principle of religious liberty had its attractions for the Irish Catholic of that time. During the rule of former Deputies since the Norman conquest of Ireland there had been religious equality only until the Reformation set up two Christian Churches in Ireland, as in England, instead of one. From the time of the Reformation the Faith dear to the hearts of the Irish Catholics had been treated as a crime. Men had been deprived of their property for worshipping according to their ancestral Faith—had been imprisoned, banished, tortured, and put to death for it. It was therefore with a keen sense of relief that the Irish people in general welcomed a policy which, under any conditions, made it possible for an Irish Catholic to practise his religion without being treated as a felon. In this sense we can understand

the extravagant hopes aroused in the breasts of so many Irish Catholics by the rule of Strafford in Ireland, and their sentiment of loyal devotion to the memory of Charles I.

The new order of things which was for a while established in England was therefore met at its opening by a feeling of almost universal antagonism among the native populations of Ireland. It might have seemed impossible that any influence could arise to widen the breach between the Irish and the ruling power in England, but it is certain that the establishment of the Commonwealth brought a new element of disunion and antagonism. The national temperament of Ireland had, up to this time, been animated by a peculiar spirit of loyalty to the hereditary principle in systems of government. The Irishman found it congenial with his instincts that chieftainship should prevail in the ruling of a State as well as in the ruling of a family. He found it natural to look up to the head of a house, and to take it for granted that the chief of each generation should be chosen from the family itself. In this theory there was a certain blending of the hereditary and the republican principle ; for while the Irish tradition was that the family should continue to rule, the chieftainship need not necessarily descend from father to son, but at each generation might be awarded by the Sept so long as the choice was kept within the

family. At the heart of the theory was the sentiment of loyalty to established authority as opposed to the republican principle of elective government. An additional antagonism between the two races was created by the fanaticism which displayed itself in all the actions of the Cromwellian leaders. The intensity of religious faith and the suffusion of religious zeal into the commonest business of life, which so markedly characterized the Cromwellian era in England and Scotland, were to a great extent the inevitable reaction against the decay of principle and of religious faith which had shown itself in England during the reigns of James I. and Charles I. But that intensity of faith, in itself so admirable, became by no means a quality of mercy when it crystallized into the conviction that other beliefs ought to be put down by penal law.

The Cromwellian settlers in Ireland found themselves brought into collision with a people who possessed a faith as intense as their own, and utterly resisted every effort at repression and every exertion of force. The Irish Catholics showed that they could live on terms of unbroken harmony and friendship with their Protestant neighbours, Irish or English, and some of the most loved and honoured leaders of the Irish national movement were Protestants. But the unqualified fanaticism of the Cromwellian leaders and

their hatred for the Catholic faith made it impossible that a pacification of Ireland could be accomplished under their rule except by the complete extinction of the Irish. Besides, Cromwell was very unsparing as a conqueror. His system of warfare in Ireland was merciless. He carried his policy of destruction to extremes which were unusual even in the fierce warfare of those days. When he captured Drogheda and Wexford he was not satisfied with the destruction of all the fighting men, but he put to the sword the priests and any of the other non-combatants. Under Cromwell's iron rule new confiscations were always taking place. Some of the most famous ruins seen by the traveller in Ireland to-day are castles and fortresses which belonged to Irish families, but were captured by the English during Cromwell's wars and given by Cromwell as a reward to some of his most useful followers. No one who visits the south of Ireland is likely to miss the chance of seeing the famous Blarney Castle, and the peasant on the road-side could tell him that it belonged to an ancient Irish family, but was captured by the English during Cromwell's invasion, and given with its estates to the head of an English family. No period during the preceding years had done so much to intensify the national hatred of the Irish for English rule as the short season of Cromwell's Protectorate. Cromwell

had many of the qualities which make a great conqueror, but he never was a conqueror of hearts. It did not take him long to stamp out the Irish rebellion which he had come from England to suppress, but the echoes of his conquering tread were the omens of new rebellions to come. The rule of Cromwell did probably more than anything else to make the Irish for many generations devoted to the Stuart cause.

The division of the re-conquered country was carried out after the most systematic fashion. Several counties, Dublin and Kildare among the rest, were parcelled out among favourites and followers who did not belong to the army. A large number of these divisions was decided by a lottery, conducted in Grocers' Hall, London, during the July of 1653. There was still a great fear in the minds of the rulers lest their new settlers might be disturbed and harassed by incursions of the dispossessed Irish. To obviate this danger some of the counties were divided between military and trading settlers, so that the civilians might have the protection of their military partners.

Most readers know what is meant by "reservation" lands when the phrase is applied to the dealings of the United States Government with the Red Indians. There are certain wide spaces set apart for the survivors of the Red Indian tribes, where

they are secured enough land to enable them to make a living so long as they do not extend their activity outside the limits assigned to them. The Cromwellian settlement provided, in its own sterner and more imperious way, the province of Connaught as the sole domain of the Irish who still desired to have a home in their native country. English settlers already holding land in Connaught were authorized to exchange their possessions for an extent of soil of equal value in some other part of the country. The phrase which described the Irish population as driven “to hell or Connaught” is still preserved among historical allusions. So far as they could be got at, the Irish were driven into Connaught and compelled to stay there. Their limits were strictly assigned to them, and a sort of passport system was established. Any native of the country endeavouring to go beyond his reservation was liable to be put to death without trial, and this practice of penal discipline was rigorously carried out. Irishmen of rank who still wished to abide on the land had to wear a distinctive mark upon their dress, under pain of being put to death; and persons of humble station had to bear each a black mark on the right cheek, or run the risk of being branded or sent to the gibbet. Many Irish historians tell us with pride that even these rigorous ordinances could not

protect the followers and even the soldiers of Cromwell against what was then considered the detestable malaria of Irish influence. Within less than half a century there were to be found in Ireland descendants of Cromwellian Ironsides who had lost the use of the English language, and carried on the business of their daily lives in the tongue of the native population. The cultivation of the penal settlement, Connaught, did not go on very prosperously. The province was barren enough when this enforced settlement began, and the inmates to whom it was made a prison ground had not much heart for the culture of the soil, which was not to be theirs in any real sense. Some of the settlers—or, as they might be called, the transported convicts—proved hard to manage, even by all the forces at the disposal of the rulers. Schemes were devised for exporting unmanageable Irish to the West Indian plantations. Official encouragement was given to Continental Sovereigns in friendly relations with England to send their recruiting officers into Ireland to enlist as many as possible of the wild Irish in some foreign service which would relieve loyal English settlers from the necessity of further dealings with them. Many of the towns were even more systematically cleared of their native inhabitants in order to secure a quiet field of industry for English and Scotch merchants and traders.

The intense vitality of the Irish race cannot be more strikingly illustrated than by the fact that it still managed to keep a hold on its native soil despite the unrelaxing machinery for its extirpation. The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland was carried out as unsparingly as merciless power could effect it. Perhaps the best defence of Cromwell's policy is that made by Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, in his able and interesting "Life of Oliver Cromwell." He shows no sympathy with the spirit of Cromwell's policy towards Ireland, but he points out that the measures employed by Cromwell were not any worse than many other English rulers tried before and after his day in their dealings with the Irish.

The Protectorate and the Commonwealth soon passed away, and the inevitable wave of reaction set in, bringing on its crest the monarchy of Charles II. The majority of the Irish, especially among the higher orders, had by this time worked themselves into the belief that the Stuarts were their best or only friends in England. The sufferings inflicted by Strafford for the benefit of the selfish and insincere Charles I. had already been almost forgotten, and the Irish people were thinking only of the hardships more lately inflicted on them by Cromwell. There was expectation all over the island that the return of the Stuarts would bring a new

and happy era. These gladdening hopes were doomed to complete disappointment. Charles II., the "Merry Monarch," was not disposed to sacrifice any of the time devoted to his merriment, or any of the personal advantages belonging to his monarchy, for the sake of doing justice to Ireland. The settlers from England and Scotland who had been made landholders during Cromwell's rule were only too willing to secure the continued ownership of their possessions by accepting the principles of the Restoration, and the Government of King Charles found the support of such men much more useful than any the dispossessed Irish nobles could have given if they were restored to their estates. Some of the appointments made to public office under Charles II. were deserving of sterner condemnation than any made during the Commonwealth. Freedom of religious worship was denied to the Irish Catholics just as effectively under the Restoration as under the Commonwealth. It is not likely that Charles II. himself had much sympathy with religious intolerance, or that he felt any strong desire for the conversion of Ireland to the Protestant faith. But at that time there was a wild alarm prevailing in England with regard to all manner of "Popish" plots against English monarchy, and the representatives of the Crown in Ireland as well as in England believed that they could not better

show their loyalty than by putting in force every possible penalty against the religion to which the great majority of the Irish people were devoted.

When James II. came to the throne there was some mitigation in the treatment of the Irish Catholics. James appointed to the office of Lord Lieutenant a man who afterwards played a conspicuous part in the history of his time, James Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel. Tyrconnel was the first Catholic who had been entrusted with the Viceroyalty since the establishment of the Protestant Church in these islands. His devotion to the Stuart cause was much quickened by the fact that in his boyhood he had been in Drogheda while it was besieged by Cromwell. The horrors of the slaughter which closed the siege had filled him with an abiding hatred of the Commonwealth and its partisans. Tyrconnel did all he could to mitigate the severity of the penal laws which oppressed the Catholics, and thus incurred the enmity and detestation of all in England or Ireland who regarded the religion of the Roman Church as a pest to be stamped out. To understand the devotion with which so many Irishmen followed the fortunes of James II. it is necessary to put ourselves in the place of the Irish Catholics who associated his name with the first relaxation of the penal laws against Catholicism known in their time.

When James II. had rendered his rule intolerable in England, and William of Orange had come over to make himself King, the Irish Catholics threw themselves heart and soul into the sinking cause of the Stuarts. Once again Irish fighting men were rallying under the leadership of a Tyrconnel. James made some efforts to endear himself to his Irish followers by hasty and, as it proved, futile concessions to the Irish national sentiment. Poynings' law, the act which declared that no measure could be introduced into an Irish Parliament without the approval of the King and his Council, was formally repealed; but as events turned out it was no more in the power of James II. to carry the repeal into effect than it was to keep England's crown upon his head. France sent over a large force to Ireland for the support of King James, under the command of a gallant and picturesque soldier, General St. Ruth, a man who, whatever his personal courage, was poorly qualified to contest the field against some of William's commanders. The ruin of James's cause was accomplished in Ireland. Ginckel, the ablest of William's commanders, won victory after victory. He made himself master of Athlone, and defeated the French and Irish troops at Aughrin, where St. Ruth was killed. Then Ginckel laid siege to the city of Limerick, and the siege proved one of the most famous events

in the story of Ireland. Limerick was defended by Patrick Sarsfield, an Irish Catholic of rank, one of the bravest and best soldiers of his day. The odds were heavily against him, but he held out to the last, and every hour's resistance made it more important for William that the victory should be secured at any cost, or that the besieging army should be set free on any terms to carry on his wars in other fields.

William had just then more important work to engage his attention. He saw that a struggle against the increasing power of France would have to be undertaken by England before long, and that the army with which Ginckel was then surrounding Limerick would have to take an important share in it. The victory of William's forces in Ireland had already been virtually accomplished. The defeat of James II. at the Boyne had made it certain that the Stuart cause had no chance of success. While the siege of Limerick was going on, it was already becoming clear to William and his advisers that it meant the absorption of a large English force in a campaign which, however it ended, could make no real difference in the fortunes of the war. Ginckel made an energetic effort to enter into terms with Sarsfield for the surrender of the city. Sarsfield and those around him would listen to no proposals for surrender which did not

contain a pledge of civil and religious liberty for the Irish people. Ginckel saw no alternative but to accept the conditions demanded. He accepted a treaty which contained an article providing that the Catholics of Ireland should enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as had been conceded to them before the struggle set in between James II. and William of Orange. Also, that a Parliament was to be summoned in Ireland by King William to procure for the Irish Catholics all such security as might be necessary to guarantee them against further penalties on account of their Faith.

These were the principal conditions of the famous Treaty of Limerick. "The Treaty-Stone"—the stone on which the document was placed while it was signed by the two Generals—is still preserved in Limerick. Limerick to this day is often described in Ireland as the city of the violated treaty, for the treaty was violated. When the agreement had been formally arranged, the defenders evacuated the city, and the besieging forces took possession. But the provisions of the treaty were never carried out with regard to religious liberty, and the Parliaments which were summoned shortly after, both in England and in Ireland, declared that the besieging General had no right to make such terms, and that the laws affecting Roman Catholics must remain exactly as they were. The

penal enactments against the Roman Catholics in Ireland were made more severe in the reign of William III. than they had been under Charles II. and James II. Many English historians have endeavoured to justify the violation of the Limerick Treaty on the ground that General Ginckel could not have had any authority to enter into such an agreement, and that the Irish commander ought to have known this.

It may be admitted that Ginckel exceeded his powers when he accepted the terms laid down by Sarsfield, but the defenders of Limerick could not know that he was committing so grave an indiscretion, and they were quite justified in believing that he was acting in good faith and with full authority. No treaty for a cessation of war ever could be entered into on a battlefield if it were admissible that one of the parties might be free, after the laying down of arms on both sides, to withdraw from his part of the agreement on the ground that he had made it with no authority to carry it out. If Ginckel had no authority to make the terms for which Sarsfield stipulated, he ought to have maintained the siege to the bitter end, or have abandoned it altogether, and taken his army where his master thought it might be employed to better purpose. "The perverted ingenuity of man" could find no justification for the policy which accepted all the advantages secured by the

treaty, and afterwards refused to carry out its most important stipulation.

Sarsfield and his principal companions-in-arms left their native country after the surrender of Limerick, and went into exile on the Continent. Most of them took service under foreign Princes, and engaged in wars against England. Sarsfield himself died on a Continental battlefield, fighting in a French army against an English army. For many generations that followed there never was a foreign Sovereign engaged in war against England who did not have Irish officers and soldiers to serve him.

CHAPTER VII

IRELAND IN QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN

THE reign of William III. put Ireland under the domination of a code of penal laws directed against the national creed more complete than any known there before. Nothing could be more comprehensive, and at the same time more minute, than the system of laws then established to punish every Roman Catholic, of whatever class or order, who adhered to the faith of his fathers. No Catholic could have a seat in the Irish Parliament or give a vote for the election of a Parliamentary candidate. A Catholic could not be a judge, a member of the Bar, of the magistracy, or of any municipal corporation. He was not allowed to serve in the army or navy; he could not be a sheriff, a grand juror, a police constable, or even a parish

vestryman. He was forbidden to carry any weapon. To prevent him and his kind from concealing arms two magistrates or sheriffs might, whenever they thought fit, issue a search warrant and ransack every home in the quest for them. Any Catholic found to have weapons hidden about his person or in his house was liable to be fined, imprisoned, whipped, or put in the pillory, or to undergo a combination of these punishments. Any Catholic owning a horse worth more than £5 was acting against the law, and to discourage his possession of such forbidden property he was compelled by law to surrender his most valuable horse at once to any Protestant neighbour or passer-by who might tender that sum. He could not buy land, or inherit it, or even receive it as a gift. If the eldest son of a Catholic became a Protestant, he became also the owner of whatever estate his father might possess, and thus reduced the father to the position of a life tenant. A Catholic wife who turned Protestant was legally set free from the control of her husband, and a certain portion of her husband's property or earnings was assigned for her independent use. The child of a Catholic had only to profess himself or herself a Protestant in order to be put under the guardianship of some Protestant relative, the father being compelled to pay an annual sum for the bringing up of his offspring. So far

as the law could accomplish such an end, all manner of education was denied to the Irish Catholic. A phrase of Burke's was applied to this penal code :

"It was," he said, "a complete system, full of coherence and consistency, well digested and well composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

No one needs to be told that Burke was a devoted member of the Protestant Church, but he regarded the penal code with the detestation which must have been felt for it by every enlightened man of his day. The governing systems of Europe had not yet learned that there was anything to be done with a creed to which they objected except to inflict heavy legal penalties on its practice. It is well, however, to bear in mind that even in the days of William III. there were numbers of Protestants in Ireland who did their very best to protect their Catholic neighbours against the oppression of this penal code, and ran much risk and made many sacrifices by doing so.

The laws passed under successive Sovereigns had already done much to discourage or prohibit Irish commerce in

several branches, for the sake of giving special advantages to English merchants and manufacturers. In the reign of Charles I. and Charles II. several measures for this purpose had been passed into law. The systems established under William III. carried the process a step farther. An enactment in 1696 prohibited all direct trade from Ireland to any British colony, and an Act was passed which forbade the export of Irish wool or woollen goods from any Irish port, except from certain places where the English settlers were strong and busy, to any foreign port whatever, and to any British port, except specified places, under penalty of a heavy fine and the forfeiture alike of the cargo and of the vessel containing it. These enactments had the effect of checking all growth of trade and manufacture among the native Irish communities. Such manufactures as the country could produce were made the monopoly of a favoured class of traders. Ireland as a whole was compelled to make a living by the mere cultivation of the soil. The land laws, the system of land tenure which had been imposed upon the country, made the soil itself the exclusive property of the wealthy and favoured. The man who cultivated the soil cultivated it only for the benefit of his landlord, and could get nothing out of it but a bare living for himself. Even that depended altogether on the good-

will of the owner, who could turn the tenant out to starve at any moment. Many of the evils of this system endured in Ireland long after penalties and disqualifications for religious worship condemned by the law had passed utterly out of existence. Not long ago John Stuart Mill said that the Irish cottier tenant was perhaps the only man living who could neither benefit by his industry nor suffer by his improvidence.

The reign of Queen Anne did little or nothing to improve the condition of the Irish people. When Anne succeeded there was a vague sense of relief and hope among the Irish Catholics. The Queen was at all events a Stuart Princess, and the severe rule of William III. had requickenened Irish sympathy with the Stuart cause. But Anne had other interests to occupy her not very comprehensive intelligence, and she did not concern herself much with the affairs of Ireland. Her reign was one of almost incessant war on the Continent, and it saw some fierce struggles between antagonistic political parties and religious denominations at home. One of the earliest illustrations of Ireland's rule under Queen Anne was given when the Irish House of Commons presented for the approval of the new Lord-Lieutenant a list of measures intended "to prevent the further growth of Popery." The Irish House of Commons at that time contained not one

Catholic member. It might be thought that enough had been done during the reign of William III. to discourage the further growth of Popery ; but the Irish Parliament of Queen Anne's time was of opinion that much yet remained to be done. Some of the measures which the Irish Parliament desired to introduce were merely elaborations or extensions of the penal clauses already existing, but there were some additional disqualifications and penalties recommended. It has been already shown that the Irish Parliament had to obtain the consent of the Sovereign and council before any new measure could be brought forward, even for discussion, in the Lords or Commons of Ireland. The royal assent was easily obtained for the production of the new measures.

There is good reason to believe that the Queen herself, and some of her advisers, were embarrassed by these demands, as England was then in alliance with Austria—a Catholic State—and the Queen's Government was actually bringing pressure to bear upon the Emperor of Austria to induce him to relieve his Protestant subjects from the disqualifications inflicted upon them because of their religion. Queen Anne was laying herself open to an easy retort from the Emperor, in the form of a recommendation that she should abolish religious disqualifications at home before making such an appeal

to him. We find this curious inconsistency exhibiting itself in many parts of Europe during the War of the Spanish Succession. We have the most authentic historical evidence to show that such men as Marlborough and Bolingbroke were often much perplexed by this difficulty, and were not without a keen perception of its humour. The Queen and those around her did not, however, allow themselves to be much obstructed by this obvious inconsistency, and full authority was promptly given for the introduction of the new measures into the Irish Parliament. The executive authorities in Ireland had no difficulty in passing the new measure of repression, and when the completed measure came over to the Parliament of England, the only alteration made in it was the introduction of a new clause, applying yet further disqualifications and penalties to any form of religious worship not recognised by the Sovereign and State.

The Irish Catholics were thus the means of bringing fresh troubles on their rulers in England. The new clause, as it was framed, did not merely visit with punishment those who professed the Roman Catholic faith, but decreed penalties against all who professed any faith not recognised by the State in England. There was a large and growing body of Protestant Dissenters in Ulster, and the new clause proposed to enact that no one in Ireland should be allowed to hold any

public office, or sit on a bench of magistrates, who had not qualified himself by receiving the Sacrament according to the ritual of the English State Church. This new clause was a complete extension to Ireland of the Test Act, which had up to that time only prevailed in England, probably because no religious disqualification for Ireland had seemed necessary beyond the penal code which applied to the followers of the Church of Rome. It has been contended gravely by some historians that the introduction of this new clause by the English Parliament proved that the majority there had more enlightened views with regard to liberty of conscience than those held by the Parliament of Ireland. The theory was that Queen Anne and her advisers were displeased with the Irish Parliament for endeavouring to set up new religious disqualifications, and thought it would be well to let the majority of that Parliament see what trouble could be brought upon them by pushing their own principles a little farther, and thus making enemies for them among the whole body of Protestant Dissenters. According to this theory, the Queen's advisers regarded the Protestant Dissenters as very troublesome and intolerant persons, and believed that it would teach them a good lesson to extend the principle of intolerance to their religious brethren in Ireland, who had hitherto not felt its oppres-

sion. But if this were the purpose of Queen Anne's advisers, it did not prove very successful in its application. Many of the Irish Protestant Dissenters did indeed raise their voices strongly against this new clause, but their voices were drowned in the general chorus of approval. The desire to add as much as possible to the laws for the repression of the Catholic Faith in Ireland, and of any faith which had not the authority of the State Church, was too strong for the claims of the Ulster Dissenters to receive serious consideration. The Bill was passed into law, and by thus creating a just discontent among the Irish Protestant Dissenters, it prepared new troubles for the Crown and Government of England.

The Irish House of Lords, in 1703, sent up an address to the Queen praying her to initiate measures for the passing of an Act of Parliament to effect a complete legislative Union between England and Ireland. This address was issued before the Union between England and Scotland had been accomplished. Nothing came at the time of this action, but after the Union between England and Scotland had been carried by legislation, the Irish peers once again appealed to Her Majesty to follow the Union with Scotland by a measure for Union with Ireland. Queen Anne merely returned a formal reply to the effect that she would take the request into consideration, but

could give no more decisive answer at the moment. Queen Anne and her advisers do not appear to have given the subject any further consideration, and it may well be doubted whether any possible advantage could have come at that time either to the one country or to the other from any union between the two legislative bodies.

Mr. Froude, who has not in general too much sympathy with the national claims of Ireland, takes this inaction very seriously to heart. He condemns the English Government severely for having thrown away what he believes to be a golden opportunity for a genuine Union between the two countries. "From this one act," he says, "as from a scorpion's egg, sprang a fresh and yet uncompleted cycle of disaffection, rebellion, and misery." But Mr. Froude seems to have entirely overestimated the chances of any real union between England and Ireland at such a time. It would not have called for any marvellous gift of statesmanlike foresight to enable one of Queen Anne's Ministers to see that there was no chance whatever for a genuine union between England and Ireland under the existing conditions. Any Minister must have known well that the opinion of the Irish House of Lords could not possibly be accepted as the opinion of the Irish people. The Irish Parliament was composed exclusively of those who repre-

sented the conquering race, and no one belonging to the Faith of the great majority of the Irish people was allowed to have a seat in either House. The Irish Parliament was at that very time engaged in pressing on Queen Anne and her Ministers the necessity of passing further laws for the repression of "Popery" in Ireland. The steady progress of confiscation was still going on for the transfer of Irish soil to the ownership of settlers from England and Scotland. The Parliament of England was itself made up in such a manner as to deprive it of all claim to be called representative of the English people. We must not, therefore, find too much fault with Queen Anne and her advisers because they did not pay great attention to the appeal of the Irish House of Lords, and did not regard the time as peculiarly appropriate for the blending of two utterly unrepresentative Parliaments into one utterly unrepresentative Parliament. But the idea thus started by the Irish House of Lords, and allowed to pass almost unnoticed by Queen Anne and her Ministers, did take hold of the minds of many Englishmen, and took shape as a definite policy in the Ministerial councils of later rulers. It is only just to say that many Englishmen adopted this idea simply because they desired that Ireland should be dealt with on principles common to both countries, and were of opinion that

this object could be attained—or, at least, would have a better chance of attainment—in a common legislative body than in two separate Parliamentary assemblies.

Ireland's relations to the English governing power are effectively illustrated in the wars of Queen Anne's reign as well as those in the reign of William III. In every one of the great battles fought during the War of the Spanish Succession the armies of England's enemies were strengthened by Irish officers and soldiers who had been forced into exile by the system of English government. At Ramillies and in other battles some of the best fighting against England was done by Irishmen who had been driven, or whose fathers had been driven, out of their native land. The question of Stuart succession had little or nothing to do with the part taken by those Irish exiles. They fought for France because they had been badly treated by English laws, just as the French Huguenots were ready to fight for England because they had been badly treated by French Sovereigns. The moral of the historical lesson is obvious.

CHAPTER VIII

IRELAND UNDER THE GEORGES

THE close of the reign of Anne, the last English Sovereign of the House of Stuart, and the opening of the Hanoverian Sovereignty, brought little or no change to Ireland. The country was visited by successive famines; but in this grim fact alone there was not much to distinguish the story of Ireland under the early Georges from its story under former Sovereigns. Perhaps the most important event in her political history was the history of Dean Swift's famous work, "The Drapier's Letters." Seldom has so great a sensation been created by an expanded political pamphlet as that produced by the publication of these letters. Swift had been living in Ireland for some time, and amid all his literary occupations and

romantic episodes he had always kept his attention alive to the social condition of the country of his birth. Through all his loves and hatreds, controversies and eccentricities, sudden changes of opinion and impatience of conventional rules, he was always sincere in his wish to obtain fair dealing for the people of Ireland. In 1720 he started a proposal "for the universal use of Irish manufacture in clothes and the furniture of houses," a system which he invited all true Irishmen in Ireland to put into practice. The idea has since been taken up again and again in Ireland, and has now and then given birth to a popular movement, although it has never become an article of faith or of universal practice among Irish men and women. The issue of this proposal brought on Swift's publisher at the time the distinction of a Government prosecution.

Swift was not an Irishman in the real meaning of the word. He was born in Ireland, but would not have lived there if the choice had been open to him. If he did pass a great part of his life there it was only because his duties compelled him to. Even while in Ireland his friends were always found among the English and Protestant residents, and he had very little sympathy with what Irishmen regarded as their national and political cause. But at the same time Swift had an instinctive revolt against injustice and

an instinctive sympathy with those whom he believed to be suffering from oppression. He became aroused to indignation by the action of the Government in granting a patent to a person named William Wood for the coinage of halfpence and farthings to be used as currency by the Irish people. There had been for some time a great complaint in Ireland because of the want of an adequate supply of copper coinage for the use of those who employed the labour of the poor. The Government had at last been prevailed upon to invite tenders from the owners of mines for the supply of the necessary material. William Wood was the owner of iron and copper mines, and also a worker in these metals. He obtained a patent from the Government for the coining of halfpence and farthings to the value of £108,000. This aroused great indignation in Ireland, not merely among the governed, but even among the governing classes. The Irish Lord Chancellor and the two Houses of Parliament in Ireland set themselves against the patent, first because it was unlawfully granted, and next because it was contended that the coins were to be less in weight than those which had currency in England. For once the classes who were sent to rule Ireland and the classes they ruled were in absolute accord in their resentment of what they believed to be a national grievance.

Whether the patent was properly granted or whether the new coinage was calculated to debase the currency of the country and to damage its trade are questions now of no greater importance than whether William Wood himself was a man of the highest reputation and a desirable acquaintance for highly-placed statesmen. Our interest is entirely in the fact that the agitation against the patent was suddenly brought to a height by a letter published in Dublin addressed "To the Shopkeepers, Tradesmen, Farmers, and Common People of Ireland concerning the brass halfpence coined by one William Wood," and signed "M. B. Drapier." This was the first of the famous series known as the Drapier's Letters, which created in Ireland a combined agitation among all classes such as had never been known before. The author assumed for the time the character of an honest trader aroused to irrepressible wrath by the base attempt of a Government favourite to damage the trade of Ireland and make dishonest money for himself by the issue of base coin. Swift converted the whole dispute into a great national question for Ireland. He positively excelled himself in the vivacity and vigour of his satire, in the variety of humorous illustrations by which he enlivened his pages, and the manner in which he held up to ridicule the pleadings of those who strove to justify the patent. The very exaggeration in

which Swift revelled when describing the probable effects of Wood's halfpence upon Irish trade is a sort of literary art, and is well worthy of the great author who told of Gulliver's Travels.

Swift was filled with a generous detestation for the system under which Ireland was governed, and made use of this grievance about Wood's copper coinage as an opportunity for expressing his feelings on the whole subject. The sensation created by the Drapier's Letters brought the Irish Viceroy to a recognition of the fact that the agitation was too serious and too reasonable to be got rid of by arrests and imprisonments. The Viceroy, Lord Carteret, was new to his work; he only arrived in Ireland at a time when the agitation was reaching its height. He began his official career, according to the principles of rule just then, by issuing a proclamation against the Drapier's Letters, offering a large reward for the discovery of the author and ordering the arrest of the printer. When the printer was put on his trial the Grand Jury unanimously threw out the Bill sent up against him. Lord Carteret had wisdom enough to see that the time had come for concession rather than repression, and he strongly urged his views on the Government in England. His advice prevailed in the end. Wood's patent was withdrawn, and a pension was given to him to console him for his loss. The author-

ship of the Drapier's Letters became known, and the Irish people made an idol of Swift. The whole episode has a lasting interest for literature, but it has also a political interest of the highest importance, because it embodies the first national and at the same time purely argumentative protest of the Irish people against the system of arbitrary government from the centre of English rule.

Before the era of the Drapier's Letters there had indeed been an attempt made by an eminent man to assert in argumentative and statesmanlike form the claim of Ireland to have a Parliament which could bring forward measures of its own, subject to the same constitutional authority as the Parliament of England. This man was William Molyneux, a distinguished writer on philosophic and scientific subjects, an intimate and valued friend of John Locke. He was born in Dublin in 1656, and held many successive appointments under the Government. Molyneux sat in the Irish Parliament for the University of Dublin, and was strongly opposed to the laws passed for the repression of Irish trade. Early in 1698 he published a work which may be called famous—"The Case of Ireland, being bound by Acts of Parliament made in England, Stated." In this he contended that England and Ireland were two separate kingdoms under the same Sovereign. The purport of this work may be

told in one of its sentences. "If the religion, lives, liberties, fortunes, and estates of the clergy, nobility, and gentry of Ireland may be disposed of without their privity or consent, what benefit have they of any laws, liberties, or privileges granted unto them by the Crown of England?" The book was not intended to plead the cause of the democracy, or to champion in especial the cause of those lower orders for whom the agitator is usually supposed to work. Molyneux dedicated it to the reigning Sovereign, and his pleading was mainly for the rights of the clergy, nobility, and gentry. This book created a profound sensation; it was condemned by the English Parliament as libellous and seditious, and was ordered to be burned by the common hangman. Molyneux died soon after its publication, at the age of forty-two.

The case set up for Ireland by Molyneux was probably the first inspiration of that constitutional movement which began to take definite shape after the publication of the Drapier's Letters. A party was formed in the Irish House of Commons with the object of advocating not separation between England and Ireland, and not even separation of Parliamentary Government—such as existed between England and Scotland—but the right of the Irish Parliament to introduce measures it believed necessary for the welfare of Ireland, under the same constitu-

tional control as that recognised by the Parliament of England. Swift died in 1745, the year which saw the Viceroyalty of Lord Chesterfield in Ireland. We are all apt to think of Chesterfield merely as the brilliant and unprincipled author of the celebrated letters to his son, but it is certain that in his government of Ireland he showed himself a genuine statesman and a true friend to Ireland as well as to England. Chesterfield saw that the system of government which prevailed was destined to become a wasting disease alike for those who carried it on and for those who were made to suffer directly by it. He saw that it was not in his power to obtain any important mitigation of the penal laws through the instrumentality either of the English or the Irish Parliament.

Nothing was to be done, he must have seen, by any scheme of reform in legislation. The reform was needed for the benefit of the Catholic Irish, the vast majority of the population; and the Houses of Parliament in England and Ireland alike were closed against any who professed the Catholic faith. To become a favourite with the frequenters of Dublin Castle, Chesterfield had only to let things go on as they had been and not trouble himself and his friends by striving for the amelioration of evils he could not wholly abolish. An easy-going man might have quieted his conscience by telling himself that

any attempt to bring about a better state of things would be utterly futile. Chesterfield seems to have been converted by what he saw, when he began his Viceregal task, into a genuine statesman and reformer. The two evils then eating their cancerous way into the administration of Ireland were the penal laws and the system of government enthroned in Dublin Castle. The rule of Dublin Castle was in its best attributes the rule of class ascendancy, and in its worst the rule of official corruption. Chesterfield saw that the state of things was almost as bad for the misgoverning as for the misgoverned, and that nothing but evil could come of it. But he also saw that there was nothing whatever to be done in the way of legislative reform. He quietly made up his mind to adopt a policy entirely his own, without consulting the Government about it. He would treat the penal code as a dead-letter. He could not abolish it, but he would never take or authorize any steps to put it into fresh action. He set himself to put a stop to the jobbery and intrigue which had grown to be a settled policy in the official departments of Dublin Castle. He established new schools wherever he could, and applied himself steadily to the encouragement of trade and manufacture. He enforced with strict and even stern hand the existing laws against crime and outrage; but he did his very best to prevent the State-

made manufacture of crime and outrage unknown to the ordinary law.

There had grown up in Ireland during many generations a sort of rivalry among the official classes in the discovery of new offences against the law, by means of which the whole power of the State might be brought to bear upon some particular class whose existence was supposed to be a trouble to the Government. The State employed in this way a regular system of terrorism against those who were presumed to be wanting in loyalty, so that an indiscriminate application of penalties might compel all such persons to desist, for the sake of their own safety, from professing hostility to any Government measures. Chesterfield soon made it apparent that no such practices could win reward or even toleration from him. The official who invented a false charge, or who assumed that a charge must be well founded because it had been made in the name of the law, would find that he had to deal with a Lord Lieutenant who insisted that the country must be governed on the principles of legality and justice.

Lord Chesterfield did not follow the example of most of his predecessors and call for new troops, in order to put down by force every popular movement. On the contrary, he actually announced that he could do with fewer troops, and he sent some of the soldiers

quartered in Ireland to help in maintaining the action of the British Government on the European Continent. The Irish soon began to appreciate the blessings of the change. The Irish Catholic found that although no penal law against religion had been repealed, it was quite safe for him to practise his religion without dread of the informer, the prison-house, or the gibbet. When some ardent loyalists of his own class endeavoured to alarm Chesterfield by stories of threatened insurrections, he generally bewildered his informant by flashes of his characteristic and satirical humour. Chesterfield has left in his own writings some account of the principles which governed him during his Viceroyalty. "I came determined," he says, "to proscribe no set of persons whatever, and determined to be governed by none. Had the Papists made any attempt to put themselves above the law, I should have taken good care to have quelled them again. It was said that my lenity to the Papists had wrought no alteration either in their religious or their political sentiments. I did not expect that it would, but surely that was no reason for cruelty towards them." In the minds of many English statesmen of his time, the mere fact that lenity towards the Papists could not make any change in their religious or political sentiments was the best possible reason for visiting them with all the cruelty allowed by the penal laws. But

Chesterfield was a man singularly in advance of his time, although until he had obtained this signal opportunity for proving his true character he had never been known for anything better than a frivolous and fascinating courtier, writer, and lover of society.

Chesterfield soon came to be thoroughly understood by the majority of the people for whose protection he was exercising his new principles of government. He won the entire confidence and admiration of the Irish, and this only helped to shorten his term of rule. The advocates of the old system of penal laws began to see something dangerous to the power of the King and the State in his methods, and influence was probably brought to bear upon the Sovereign in order that a Viceroy with such dangerous views might be removed to some sphere where they could do less harm. Chesterfield was recalled from his Irish administration, and when he was leaving Dublin he was surrounded on the sea-shore by a crowd of lamenting admirers, who besought of him some promise that he would soon return to Ireland and continue to make life endurable for the people there. He was not allowed to return, and a place was found for him at home, where even his enlightened views could not do much to disturb the regular order of established government. After his departure the officials of

Dublin Castle carried on its old familiar work in its old familiar way.

A new era was opening in the political life of Ireland. This was the era of constitutional agitation for reform in the system of government. The writings of Molyneux and Swift, the Viceroyalty of Chesterfield, had all done their part in creating a movement having for its object the abolition of evil laws through the agency of political argument and Parliamentary debate. A powerful party was formed in Ireland for the purpose of carrying on a strictly constitutional agitation for the repeal of the obnoxious laws which had condemned the great majority of the people to a condition little better than slavery. One of the earliest and most powerful leaders of this new party, the Patriot Party, as it was called, was Charles Lucas, a medical man by profession. He was born in Dublin, and there he obtained a lucrative practice, from which he soon turned aside to assist the national movement. Early in his political career he got into trouble with the authorities because of the freedom with which he expressed his national opinions, and found it prudent to withdraw for awhile to the Continent. After his return to Ireland he resumed his course of political agitation, but was more careful in his manner of denouncing the grievances he was striving to abolish.

His great object was to obtain the constitutional independence of the Irish Parliament. Lucas did not strive for, and probably did not even dream of, separation between England and Ireland. He desired to bring about the repeal of Poynings' Law, which prevented the Irish Parliament from instituting or taking into consideration any measure without the authority of the English Parliament and Council. Lucas condemned Poynings' Law as absolutely unconstitutional, and contended that it reduced to a state of servitude the Irish Protestant as well as the Irish Catholic. The usual result followed the publication of his writings. A prosecution was set on foot by the authorities in Dublin, and Lucas' letters were ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. The Irish House of Commons, whose independence he was endeavouring to bring about, resented his efforts on its behalf, and summoned him to appear before its Bar.

Lucas withdrew for safety to England, where at all events there was something like a system of constitutional law which might secure a fair trial even for a political offender. He devoted himself for some time to the practice of his profession, and obtained a distinct success. He made the acquaintance of some eminent Englishmen, among whom was Samuel Johnson, whose opinion will help us in forming a judgment alike of

Lucas and of his agitation. Writing about Lucas, Johnson said: "The Irish Ministers drove him from his native country by a proclamation in which they charged him with crimes which they never intended to be called to the proof, and oppressed him by methods equally irresistible by guilt and innocence. Let the man thus driven into exile for having been the friend of his country be received in every place as a confessor of liberty." Lucas had no idea of giving up his political career. He returned to Dublin, where the new movement had taken such a hold among all classes that within a year he was elected by the Dublin constituency as its representative in the Irish House of Commons. He founded and for a while conducted the *Dublin Freeman's Journal*, which was established to be the organ of truly Liberal opinions, of constitutional and religious equality and freedom, and has ever since maintained the principles of its founder.

The Patriot Party soon obtained the leadership of Henry Flood, a brilliant orator and commanding politician. His father, a Chief Justice of the King's Bench, had taken care that he should have a liberal education at "Old Trinity," Dublin, and at Oxford. Henry Flood gave up most of his early life to the study of great poets and great orators, classic and modern, and for a while his ambition was to become a poet himself; but

he was drawn away into political pursuits, for which Nature had qualified him. He entered the Irish Parliament before he was quite twenty-seven, and, being a man of considerable fortune, was enabled to give up his whole life to politics. He soon made a brilliant success, came to be recognised as leader of the Opposition, and therefore Parliamentary leader of the Patriot Party. He led all manner of attacks upon the corrupt systems then prevailing under the Government, and gave force and direction to the movement for securing the independence of the Irish Parliament. He made many mistakes during his leadership, and one of them proved fatal to his popularity. The mistake may well seem to have been natural and excusable, but it cost him his power over the Party he was leading. He succeeded after a long struggle in compelling the Government to remove from office an unpopular and oppressive Lord Lieutenant and put a better statesman in his place. Flood seems to have thought the new Viceroy would be thoroughly with him in his efforts to secure the independence of the Irish Parliament, and that to accept office under such a Viceroy would help to carry out the national policy. But the Irish people had seen too much of the damaging effect produced on public life by the acceptance of office under Government to allow them to acknowledge the leadership

even of Flood when once Flood had become a paid official of the Crown.

Flood could no longer lead the party after this ill-advised step, but there was then a man in the Irish House of Commons even better qualified by genius and noble character to take the direction of the Parliamentary movement. This man was Henry Grattan, one of the greatest orators of ancient or modern times. The praises he received from some of his great English admirers are so lavish and so strong that they might be thought extravagant if it were not certain that they represent the general estimate then formed of him, and if we had not his own speeches to justify the estimate. Byron called him “ever-glorious Grattan, with all that Demosthenes wanted endued, and his rival or victor in all he possessed.” When at a much later period of his life Grattan entered the English House of Commons, and was about to take a modest place on a back bench, Charles James Fox went up to him, told him that was not the place for the Irish Demosthenes, and with friendly pressure compelled him to take a more prominent position. Grattan and Flood were for a time close allies and companions in the Irish House. Flood’s ill-advised step in accepting office led to a breach not only in the political relationship, but in the private friendship of the two men, who denounced each other publicly on more than one memor-

able and melancholy occasion in the Irish House of Commons.

Grattan now became leader of the Patriot Party, and no political party ever had a leader more sincerely and nobly devoted to its cause or more splendidly gifted with eloquence for its advocacy. The task he undertook had become limited to one distinct achievement. It was as definite and clearly marked out as that of Richard Cobden when he strove for the introduction of Free Trade, or that of John Bright when he devoted his energies to the expansion of Parliamentary suffrage. Grattan made it his object to secure for Ireland the independence of her Parliament—that is, the right of the Irish Parliament to introduce and discuss its own measures without asking the previous permission of the King and his Council, and of carrying them into enactments under the same constitutional checks and control as were provided for the Parliament of England. The change he desired to introduce may be made clear by explaining that Grattan wished to obtain for Ireland just such a domestic and national Parliament as that which has long been established for Canada, and more lately for the Australian Commonwealth, and has made these Colonies contented, prosperous, and loyal. Grattan actually succeeded in his object, and was able, in his own words, “to address for the first time the Parliament of a

free people." That Parliament, thus described by the man who called it into existence, was as completely a part of England's constitutional system as the Parliament which now meets at Westminster. We shall have to consider the influences, the accidents, the great upheavals at home and abroad, which marred for the time the permanent success of Grattan's great achievements, and brought about yet another conquest of Ireland.

CHAPTER IX

NINETY-EIGHT AND THE UNION

TWO great events in the world's history successively brought their influence to bear on the fortunes of Ireland. These were the American War of Independence and the French Revolution. The revolt of the American Colonies against the domination of England gave Grattan a signal opportunity for carrying to success his efforts for the independence of the Irish Parliament, and the outbreak of the French Revolution brought about in Ireland the rebellion of 1798. The Irish Parliament was still under the subjection of Poynings' Law when the American Revolution began. All available English troops were needed to carry on the struggle in America. The coasts of the British Islands were threatened and even

harassed by Paul Jones and other American privateers. Ireland was left open to the incursions of any foreign Power hostile to England. A movement suddenly began in Ireland for the formation of a Volunteer army to secure the island against invasion. This movement had a great success, and before long there were some 60,000 men under arms in Ireland, and yet not forming any part of the Sovereign's regular army. Mr. Lecky describes the formation of this Volunteer force as "one of those movements of enthusiasm that occur two or three times in the history of a nation." He tells us: "Beginning among the Protestants of the North, the movement soon spread, though in a less degree, to other parts of the island, and the war of religions and of castes that had so long divided the people vanished like a dream."

The Volunteer army was under the control of the celebrated Lord Charlemont, who had been chosen Commander-in-Chief of the force, and held that position during the whole of its existence. Charlemont was a man of great ability and highly cultivated mind. He had travelled much in his early days; had visited the Greek Islands, Constantinople, and Egypt. In Turin he formed an acquaintance with David Hume, which ripened into the warmest friendship. In France he came to know Montesquieu; in London, Burke, Johnson, Goldsmith, Reynolds, Hogarth, and other

famous leaders of thought, letters, and art. Charlemont was a lover of justice and freedom and a sincere patriot. Grattan and Flood each took a prominent part in the formation of the Volunteer corps, and in the direction of the Volunteer movement towards national purposes other than the mere defence of the soil. The volunteers were a patriotic body, actuated by the spirit of Flood and Grattan. They called together a great national Convention for the purpose of discussing the grievances to which Ireland was subjected, and of organizing a combined demand for the independence of the Irish Parliament. Grattan was not a member of this Convention, but was in thorough harmony with its purposes, and identified himself with the resolutions it adopted. He saw that the time had come to make the national movement a success. He set forth the demand of the Irish people, and at such a time there was no possibility of its being denied or treated with disregard by the English Government. All the military strength the Government could bring to bear was still needed for the struggle with Washington and the American Colonists, and if the Irish national claim had been rejected the Volunteer army would have been quite ready to turn its political agitation into open rebellion. The Government had no alternative but to give way. The statutes which

made the Irish Parliament an assembly only qualified to bring forward a motion of any kind with the previous consent of the Sovereign and his Council were promptly repealed. The Peers and Commons of Ireland were enabled to initiate and discuss such measures as seemed beneficial for Ireland, and to pass them, if they could, under the same conditions as those to which the English Parliament itself had to submit. One of the greatest speeches ever delivered by Grattan was that in which he told the House of Commons that he had now to address a free representative Chamber, and invoked the spirit of Swift and the spirit of Molyneux to guide them in their future efforts for the good of the nation.

The Irish Parliament as Grattan found it was very far from being a free Parliament. Not only could no Catholic be a member of either House, but no Catholic could even give a vote for the election of a member to the House of Commons. No Catholic was qualified to practise as a barrister, and there were many other religious disqualifications. Grattan set to work to remove all these so far as he could. The New Irish Parliament liberated the elective franchise from the restrictions imposed upon it, and made the Irish Catholic as free to vote as the Irish Protestant. The franchise was then so narrowed in its limitations for Protestants and Catholics alike that to men of our time it

would seem a mere burlesque of Parliamentary representation. The great mass of the people were entirely excluded from the right to vote, and the election of members to the House of Commons was practically the privilege of territorial magnates and the owners of titles. The right to nominate to the representation of a county or a borough was almost as much a matter of property as the soil which the landlord let out to his tenants. But the same condition of things prevailed at that time in England. The change accomplished by Grattan's Parliament had the advantage, at least, that it removed mere religious disqualification from the voter and put the Catholic and Protestant thus far on terms of political equality. Grattan himself was in favour of a full measure of Catholic emancipation, and he strove hard to obtain such a reform as would allow a Catholic to have a seat in either House of Parliament. This, however, was too much of an advance for an assembly composed altogether of members belonging to the State Church, and there was still among the majority of Protestants an unconquerable objection to the idea of allowing anyone who confessed "Popish" doctrines to take a direct part in the making of laws.

The resistance offered by the Irish Parliament to Grattan's further reforms had much to do with the promotion of the new troubles

which were to come upon Ireland. Grattan's own popularity was for a time somewhat shaken by the course he took after the Irish Parliament had thus been made comparatively free. He was willing to accept the terms on which the English Government had granted independence to the Irish Parliament as satisfactory and as offered with sincere intentions. Flood thought that not enough had been done by legislation to make Ireland feel secure that the English Sovereign and his advisers would never attempt to evade the terms of the constitutional agreement. Grattan, who was a thoroughly constitutional statesman, believed that the work of the Volunteers had been fully accomplished, and that they ought to be disbanded and allowed to return to civilian life. Flood maintained that the Volunteers should be kept in force as a sort of national standing army to deter the English Government from any new encroachment on the liberties of Ireland. This difference of opinion seems the more remarkable when we remember that Grattan was the champion of religious emancipation and that Flood was still one of those who would have maintained some system of exclusion against his Catholic fellow subjects. Grattan's policy prevailed. The Volunteers disbanded and dispersed, not without many indignant protests and gloomy prophesyings from Flood and those who felt with him. A large proportion of the Irish

people were dissatisfied with the disbanding of the Volunteers, and Grattan's failure to carry a complete measure of Catholic emancipation caused many Catholics to lose faith in the new independent Irish Parliament.

Meanwhile the success of the American War of Independence had aroused intense sympathy throughout Ireland and a passionate aspiration for complete national freedom. The effect of the American revolution had done much to encourage the revolution in France. The downfall of the French monarchy aroused among Irishmen a strong belief that a new force was coming up in Europe which might help Ireland, too, in the attainment of political freedom. A new organization had been formed in Ireland, called the Society of United Irishmen. The original purpose of the United Irishmen was merely to form a number of clubs all over the country to promote a political union among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, and to obtain by constitutional means a fair and full representation of all religions and classes in the Irish Parliament. The leaders were all, or nearly all, Protestants. The first president of the society, Hamilton Rowan, was a distinguished Irish Protestant. Theobald Wolfe Tone, a brilliant young Protestant, who afterwards made a name in war as well as in politics, acted for a time as secretary. But there were influences at work which soon

led or drove the United Irishmen out of their appointed course of constitutional agitation. One of these influences was the obstinate resistance offered by George III. to any proposal for the political emancipation of the Roman Catholics. Among King George's own Ministers were men enlightened enough to know that emancipation ought to come and must come. William Pitt was himself a convinced friend of emancipation; but whenever he offered any advice in that spirit to the King he was always met with such fierce and bitter refusals that at last he made up his mind to let the King have his way.

In 1794 a new Irish Viceroy came to Dublin. This was Earl Fitzwilliam, a man of enlightened views, who recognised the justice of emancipation, and gave his encouragement bravely to the efforts of the Irish leaders. The immediate result was that after he had held office for scarcely three months he was by command of King George suddenly recalled and another man appointed in his place. This act was a death-blow to the constitutional agitation of Grattan, and inspired the United Irishmen with new hopes and a new policy. The events of the time convinced these men that mere constitutional agitation could do nothing under the rule of George III., and that to the France of the Revolution they must look for Ireland's free-

dom. The Irish had for many generations regarded France as the friend of Ireland.

The French were proclaiming themselves the champions of oppressed nationalities, and were under the leadership of Napoleon Bonaparte, who had proved that France could make her power felt throughout the world. Some of the most influential of the United Irishmen were familiar with French society and French statesmen. Lord Edward Fitzgerald had been dismissed from the English army for the part he took in some of the celebrations by which Paris displayed the exuberance of its republican enthusiasm. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was a younger son of the Duke of Leinster, and at an early age received a commission in the English army. He found himself compelled to serve against the American Colonists, with whose struggle for independence he thoroughly sympathized. He became an enthusiast in the national cause of Ireland, and, like most of his political companions, turned hopeful eyes towards France. He was for many years a member of the Irish Parliament, and supported the policy of Grattan. But he became convinced that nothing was to be expected from the Government of George III., and he joined the United Irishmen when they had ceased to put faith in a constitutional movement and were organizing rebellion. He went to France to obtain armed assistance, and returned to

Ireland to take part in the work which he expected there.

Theobald Wolfe Tone betook himself to France for the same purpose, and he appears to have succeeded in making a distinct impression on the minds of Carnot, the "organizer of victory," and of Napoleon Bonaparte. Wolfe Tone was a man of remarkable and varied abilities. He had been brought up to the law, had studied in one of the London Inns of Court, and was called to the Bar, but never did much in legal practice. His whole turn of mind was for travel, adventure, and a military life. He appears to have been endowed by Nature with the spirit of a soldier. Tone succeeded in persuading Napoleon that it would be a great advantage to France in her struggle with England to send a fleet and an army under a competent commander to assist the rebellion in Ireland. A fleet was sent over with a military force under the command of General Hoche, who had already won many victories for the Republic. But the winds proved fatal to the French expedition when it tried to effect a landing in Bantry Bay.

Wolfe Tone, who had before this obtained a commission in the French army, was on board one of the vessels, and has himself described the intense agony of his emotions as he stood on the deck of his vessel and might almost have flung a biscuit ashore, and yet

could not land owing to the stress of weather. The expedition proved a total failure, and Wolfe Tone was captured along with a number of French officers. Thus, and thus only, he succeeded in making his landing in Ireland. The French officers were treated as prisoners of war, but Wolfe Tone made no effort to conceal his identity, and was put on his trial as a rebel. He was tried by court-martial in Dublin, and defended himself in a speech of remarkable eloquence and power. His defence was not a defence in the legal and technical sense of the word, for he acknowledged in his opening sentences that he was an enemy to the Government of King George, and had come over from France to fight for the Independence of Ireland. He declared that he had always understood what the consequences of failure must be to him, that he was prepared to abide by the result, and that he fully understood the difference which history makes between the rebel who succeeds and the rebel who fails. "Washington succeeded and Kosciusko failed," he said; and he insisted that for him as for Kosciusko failure brought no dishonour with it. The only appeal he made to his captors was that as he had been a soldier and wore the uniform of France he might be allowed to die a soldier's death—that he might be shot and not hanged. Tone was found guilty, and the Lord Lieutenant of

Ireland did not see his way to interfere with the ordinary course of the law by granting his request.

A curious question of law arose out of Tone's trial. John Philpot Curran, the great Irish advocate and orator, made a motion in the Court of King's Bench to the effect that Tone had been illegally tried by a court-martial; that as he was not in the English army, and as the Civil Courts of Law were then all sitting in Ireland and free to do their work, the interference of martial law was absolutely illegal. Curran's motion was made before the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Kilwarden, a man of the highest legal position, and absolutely devoted to a just interpretation of the law. Lord Kilwarden ruled in favour of Curran's motion, and ordered that Tone should be removed from the custody of the military tribunal and put on trial before the ordinary criminal court. While the contention between the civil and military authorities was still going on, the life of Wolfe Tone came to an end. Tone could not make up his mind to endure the disgrace of execution on the gallows as if he were a thief or a murderer. He found means to open a vein in his arm, and before a surgeon could be called in he had lost so much blood that he was beyond the help of surgical skill. The legal question had not yet been settled, and the sentence of the court-martial could not, there-

fore, be executed on the dying man. Tone lingered for a few days and then died. Edward Fitzgerald was already dead. He had been captured in Dublin, where he was seeking a refuge after the failure of some of the risings on Irish soil, and he fought hard for his life, wounding some of his captors and receiving a bullet wound, from which he died a few days after in the prison to which he had been carried.

The rebellion meanwhile had almost come to an end. One or two expeditions from France effected a landing, but could not change the fortunes of the struggle. The Irish plans had been wanting in central organization, and the spy system skilfully maintained by the Government officials always kept the commanders of the royal troops well informed as to the intentions of the insurgents. The rebellion became, in fact, a number of isolated risings rather than the well-ordered effort of one organization. The insurgents were successful in many actions, but the forces against them were too great for any chance of their success, and the story of '98 came to an end. We need not enter here into the painful questions raised as to the severities and even cruelties practised by the royal troops in the suppression of the rebellion. The King's forces were largely made up of hireling regiments from German principalities and of the loyal yeomanry from

Ulster and other parts of Ireland, who were invariably Orangemen filled with hatred for the Catholics and for the national movement which championed their claims to religious emancipation. Under these conditions, cruelties were practised towards the defeated insurgents which would not have been committed if the victorious troops had been Englishmen called upon to discharge a military duty. Lord Cornwallis himself has left on record many expressions of the detestation with which he regarded the conduct of some of the civilians as well as soldiers who took a leading part in the suppression of the insurrection and the punishment of the insurgents.

Lord Cornwallis showed much humanity in his dealings with the conquered rebels, and acted as mercifully as the laws of the time would allow him. His own writings prove how severe was the struggle between his own generous sentiments and the enforcement of the system which he was compelled to maintain to a certain extent. He has bequeathed to history the most frank expression of his abhorrence of the spirit and the utterances of many of those around him, who were incessant in advocacy of the most cruel measures against all who were believed to have taken part in the rebellion, and the exultation with which they welcomed every account of savage reprisals.

The Government were determined to punish the whole country for the resistance offered to the policy of King George. The fate of Grattan's Parliament was decreed. Nothing less than its extinction could satisfy the rulers, who ascribed to its existence a great part of the blame for the action of the United Irishmen, the appeal for help to the French Directory, and the whole movement of '98. The action of the Irish Parliament and its leaders had been strictly constitutional, and it was in despite of them, and not under their inspiration, that the rebellion had broken out. The destruction of the Irish Parliament was not to be accomplished by fair and legitimate means. Whatever its defects and shortcomings, it would not have been possible to carry by a majority of its votes, if left to their free exercise, the destruction of the Parliament itself. It was necessary to obtain a majority to carry out the policy of the Government, and that majority was obtained at last by the most flagitious process of bribery and corruption. Peerages, offices, and pensions were lavishly given to gain the votes of members, and secret service money was privately employed in a system of wholesale bribery. These facts are now admitted by all historians, and, indeed, no other testimony is needed to their reality than the letters of Lord Cornwallis himself, which express his feelings of shame at the

measures he found himself compelled by the orders of the Government to sanction and to carry out in order that Ireland might be deprived of her lately created independent Parliament. The determination of King George's Government was that Ireland must be united with England under one common Parliament, and for this purpose the Act of Union had to be carried, and the Irish Parliament compelled to register its own extinction. Grattan raised his voice to the last against this measure, but no eloquence could have prevailed against the arts which were employed to obtain a majority of votes. Irishmen may remember with pride that even in that Parliament, elected in its best days on a suffrage not representing the great majority of the Irish people, and with disqualifications which shut out every Roman Catholic, there were still at least a hundred members who could not be won over to the side of the Government. The Act of Union was passed by a compact and well rewarded majority of sixty. The Act became an operative law on January 1, 1801, on the first day of the week, the first of the month, the first of the year, and the first of the century. Its passing was quickly followed by other futile attempts at rebellion. In 1803 Robert Emmet, a younger brother of Thomas Addis Emmet, one of the leaders of the '98 movement who had escaped to America, sacrificed his fortune

and his life in another rising in the cause of Ireland's independence. The attempt was crushed almost at its outset by military force. Robert Emmet was captured, condemned to death, and executed the morning after his conviction. The story of the brave and generous young man who threw away his life in this futile attempt has been made the subject of many poems and of more than one touching prose picture by Irish writers, and by others not Irish, and is likely to be long remembered. The tale of Emmet's love for the daughter of Curran has been told in every civilized language. The one event of the abortive rising which, apart from his own love and the disappointment of his patriotic hopes, most saddened young Emmet's closing days was the fact that Lord Kilwarden, the Irish Chief Justice, had been stopped in his carriage by a group of maddened insurgents in a Dublin street, one of whom, thrusting a pike into his body, gave him his death-blow. Emmet, who was leading the rising in another part of the city, rushed back on hearing that the Lord Chief Justice was in danger, but arrived on the fatal spot just too late to save him. This was the Lord Kilwarden who had manfully and nobly insisted on the due course of law being followed out in the case of Wolfe Tone. Kilwarden's last words were characteristic of

him. With his latest breath he gave utterance to the injunction that no man should suffer for his death without full and lawful trial. The Act of Union had its noble victims on both sides of the struggle.

CHAPTER X

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION AND O'CONNELL

AFTER the extinction of the Irish Parliament and the catastrophe of Robert Emmet, Grattan was prevailed upon by Lord Fitzwilliam and Charles James Fox to accept a seat in the English House of Commons. Here he found a strong party growing up in support of Catholic Emancipation, and to that party he devoted his eloquence and influence. He was always consistent in his political creed. He stood up for the religious equality of all citizens and for a union of Great Britain and Ireland, with separate Parliaments under the one constitution. One of his dying utterances to the friends around him was a renewed appeal to them to maintain those principles as their guide in seeking the prosperity and the true union of England

and Ireland. He died in London, whither he had come with the hope of being able once more to advocate in the House of Commons the cause of Catholic Emancipation. The long journey from Dublin and the fatigue of travel proved too much for Grattan's sinking health, and he was not able to make his appearance in the House. He died on June 4, 1820, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The close of Grattan's career was marked by an incident which denotes the opening of another career not less important in the modern history of Ireland. Shortly before leaving Ireland for the last time Grattan received a deputation in Dublin from the Catholic Association, headed by Daniel O'Connell. For some years after Grattan's death the political story of Ireland resolves itself mainly into a record of the final struggle for Catholic Emancipation. Many changes in the industrial and social condition of Ireland had taken place since the beginning of that agitation. The success of the United States in their struggle for independence had opened up to the Irish the prospect of a new haven of refuge from religious penalties and from the miseries caused by an intolerable system of land tenure. The flood of emigration from Ireland to the United States had already begun, although it had not reached anything like the vast volume it attained in more recent days.

The main cause of emigration was the system of land tenure existing in Ireland. The English conquest and settlement of Ireland had completely done away with the native systems of land occupancy, which were established on a principle something like communism. The chieftain of each region was the lord of his own domain, but the right of the humblest worker on the soil to enjoy the fruit of his labour was acknowledged. Under the newer systems the agricultural tenant was practically dependent on the favour of the landlord for the retention of his patch of ground, and could be turned out at the will of the landlord or his agent without appeal. The Irish farmers became, as time went on, more dependent on the will of the landlord, and as many of the landlords were absentees there was little opportunity for the formation of bonds of mutual regard and association. Even at the worst of times there were kindly and generous landlords who concerned themselves about the comfort and prosperity of deserving tenants, but as a general rule the tenant could not count on being allowed to retain his hold of the soil, which he had perhaps converted from a barren swamp into a thriving farm. Ireland was at this time for the most part a merely agricultural country. English Governments and Parliaments had done much to discourage the growth of manufactures in Ireland, and

to give all the advantages to the manufacturers of the ruling country. The natural result of such legislation was to make the land more of a necessity to the working population, and thus to increase the competition for every scrap of soil and make the landlord a more absolute ruler over his surrounding tenantry. The evils of this system were making themselves increasingly manifest, and the one great agitation pervading Ireland was the struggle between the landlord and the tenant class. After the failure of the Irish rebellion and the extinction of the Irish Parliament there was for a time little heard in Ireland of any great political agitation, any agitation for the redress of political grievances or even for the accomplishment of Catholic Emancipation. The national energies seemed to have degenerated into a mere strife between landlord and tenant, and among the exasperated and desponding tenantry many crimes were committed against unpopular landlords.

The renewal of the agitation for Catholic Emancipation came on in the due course of reaction. In the meanwhile the attention of leading Englishmen had been directed to the condition of Ireland and the causes of her disturbance, and many of these Englishmen were prepared to help with all their power any effort to redress the grievances under which the Irish were manifestly suffering.

One of these was obviously the law which prevented a Catholic from being elected to the House of Commons. Men like Charles James Fox had always been advocates of Emancipation. Of the few speeches which Lord Byron made in the House of Lords, one was an appeal for justice to the Catholics. The hour had come for a definite movement, and with the hour came for Ireland the man.

This man was Daniel O'Connell. He took up the work which Grattan had not been able to accomplish. O'Connell was born in Ireland in 1775. His family were Catholics of the land-owning class, but had suffered from all the disqualifications imposed on Catholics of any order. He was sent when a child to a Catholic school, which happened to be the first seminary ever kept openly by a Catholic Priest in Ireland since the enactment of the penal laws. Then O'Connell was sent with his brother to a school in Belgium, and afterwards to one in France, where they remained until the outbreak of the French Revolution made it desirable for them to return to Ireland. The impressions produced on the boy Daniel O'Connell by the revolutionary excesses in France left their abiding mark on his political career, and made him an unalterable enemy to every form of agitation which might lead to the spilling of blood. He studied for the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, and practised in Ireland, where he soon became

one of the most rising advocates of the day, although the laws still existing would not allow him, as a Catholic, to obtain the honour of a silk gown. In 1806 the Whigs came into power, and they were understood to be supporters of Catholic Emancipation. O'Connell was already a member of an organization formed to demand religious emancipation. He addressed meetings all over Ireland in advocacy of the cause, and in support of any English Ministry which might have the courage to adopt it. He also started a new agitation for the restoration of the Irish Parliament. "Repeal of the Union," the name he gave to this demand, has become historical.

O'Connell was probably the greatest popular orator Ireland has ever brought forth, and one of the greatest popular orators known to the world. He had all the physical qualifications which help towards great oratorical success. He was of commanding stature and proportions, and had a voice combining strength, sweetness, and melody, capable of commanding with ease the largest audiences, and rich in variety of intonation and expression. That voice was able to touch every chord of human emotion. Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton paid a splendid tribute to the power of O'Connell's eloquence at an open-air meeting, which, he said, taught him—

“What spells of infinite choice
To rouse or lull has the sweet human voice.”

O'Connell declared that if he were driven to the alternative, he would rather have the repeal of the Union even than Catholic Emancipation, because every great measure of liberty would be won for Ireland by a Parliament of her own in a much shorter space of time than could possibly be accomplished in the British Parliament. O'Connell's power grew greater every day, and he soon became the acknowledged leader of the Irish people. It seemed to all liberal-minded persons in Great Britain an obvious anomaly that such a man should not have an opportunity of representing the claims of his country in the House of Commons, but as yet the laws remained on the statute-book which rendered it impossible for any professing Roman Catholic to obtain a seat there. Each newly-elected representative for a constituency was called upon before he could take his seat to swear an oath, proclaiming not merely his allegiance to the reigning Sovereign, but also his disavowal and detestation of the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. O'Connell resolved on taking a bold step. A vacancy occurred in the County of Clare in consequence of the representative having received a Ministerial office, and being compelled to resign his seat in the House of Commons and offer himself

to his constituents for re-election. O'Connell announced himself as a candidate for the vacant seat, and the mere announcement created consternation throughout the kingdom. The existing Acts of Parliament did not prohibit a Roman Catholic from offering himself as a candidate for Parliament, nor was there any positive enactment which prevented him from being elected. But no candidate, even if elected, could have a seat in the House unless he took the oath which was framed for the purpose of excluding Catholics. The Clare election was a memorable event in the history of Ireland. O'Connell was chosen by a great majority of the electors. He presented himself at the table of the House of Commons. The oath was tendered to him, which he positively refused to take. He was ordered to withdraw, the seat was declared vacant, and a new election had to follow. O'Connell was again elected by a large majority. Then the Government found that it had to deal with a crisis the like of which had never before troubled an English Administration.

These events had been making a deep impression on Sir Robert Peel, who was then Home Secretary, and on other eminent political leaders. The Government had to choose between Catholic Emancipation and another rebellion in Ireland. We can read in the letters of Peel how the conviction grew

upon him that the claims for Catholic Emancipation were rightful, and how the Duke of Wellington, then at the head of the Administration, was brought to the same conclusion. The Duke of Wellington declared at last that he had seen too much of war, and did not intend to add a civil war to his other records. The great difficulty was in prevailing on the King to accept this view, but at last George IV. was induced to put himself entirely into the hands of his Ministers and allow them to carry out their own policy.

The Government brought in the Catholic Relief Bill, the main purport of which was to construct a new form of oath which all Catholics, as well as others, might conscientiously take. The measure not only admitted Catholics to sit in Parliament, but allowed them to be appointed to all political and civil offices excepting those of Regent, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Bill was carried through both Houses of Parliament by large majorities, and became law. Some parts of the measure Peel would not willingly have introduced, but he accepted them in order to effect a compromise with the more extreme opponents of Catholic emancipation, especially in the House of Lords. O'Connell was not allowed to take his seat in the House at once, but was put to the superfluous trouble of again offering himself for election to his Clare constituents, who

returned him for the third time with a triumphant majority. An Act of Parliament was also passed disfranchising a class of Irish voters who were known as the Forty Shilling Freeholders, a body of voters with a special suffrage who had made a great part of the majority by whom O'Connell was elected. It would have been better if Peel could have carried out his own policy without any of these grudging disqualifications. But he has the honour in history of being the first Minister of the Crown who fully recognised, and established by enactment, the right of the Roman Catholic to a general equality with his Protestant fellow subjects.

O'Connell took his seat in the House of Commons, and soon became one of the most prominent and commanding debaters there, at a time when Brougham, Lyndhurst, and Peel were Parliamentary debaters. Having done his work in carrying Catholic emancipation, O'Connell started his agitation for Repeal of the Union. He formed a Repeal Association, in which the great majority of the Irish people took part, and which had its headquarters in the building then known as Conciliation Hall, in Dublin. He addressed out-of-door meetings in all parts of Ireland—meetings so vast that no voice less powerful than his could have carried the words to the most distant among his audience. He always enforced a certain order and discipline in the

arrangement of these immense assemblages, and many of his political opponents maintained that he was quietly drilling his forces for some future attempt at rebellion. But O'Connell always proclaimed that he was the advocate of constitutional reform alone, that he was opposed to the employment of force to obtain any legislative improvement, and that no political cause was worth the shedding of a single drop of blood. This doctrine he endeavoured at a later period of his career to establish as the ruling creed of his party. It is certain that he could at any moment have aroused the people of Ireland to another armed rebellion if he had thought fit to sound the trumpet-call. O'Connell was coming every day more nearly to the position of Irish Dictator. He was already beginning to be called Ireland's uncrowned king. Apart from purely Irish questions, his political views led him into close association with the leading Liberals of England and Scotland, and on several occasions he addressed great public meetings in English and Scottish cities, winning enthusiastic applause, which his magnificent eloquence could hardly have failed to call forth. He was a devoted advocate of the anti-slavery agitation then carried on by leading reformers in these countries as well as in the United States, and on one occasion he refused to receive on his platform in Con-

ciliation Hall an American sympathizer with Repeal because he was known to be a slave owner and a supporter of slavery. O'Connell, although not himself a professed total abstainer, did all he could to promote the cause of temperance among his people, and lent every help in his power to the great movement led by its apostle, the noble-hearted Father Mathew. O'Connell was only at his zenith when the reign of William IV. came to an end, and the girl-queen Victoria was called to the throne.

CHAPTER XI

THE YOUNG IRELAND MOVEMENT

A NEW life was growing up in Ireland—a life of literature and patriotic movement. Ireland had had no literature peculiarly her own since the native language had ceased to be the tongue of the majority among her people. There had been Irish literary men at all times, but they wrote in English and in the mode of that English literature to which they belonged. O'Connell's movement brought for the first time a genuine Irish literature, inspired by the feelings, the traditions, and the very atmosphere of the country, although written in English.

The *Nation* newspaper was started in October, 1842. Its founders were Charles Gavan Duffy, John Blake Dillon, and Thomas

Davis. Charles Gavan Duffy, who died quite recently, took a leading part in Irish political movements, and was tried more than once on a charge of sedition, though in each case the trial ended in a disagreement of the jury. He sat in the House of Commons for a short time. He emigrated to Australia, entered the Parliament of Victoria, and held high office there, becoming Prime Minister in one administration, and afterwards Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. In his later years he returned to Europe, where he lived for the most part on the Riviera, but he several times revisited England and his native country.

John Blake Dillon was a barrister of large practice in Dublin. After the break up of the political movement with which he was connected he found a refuge in the United States, where he followed the profession of the law with great success. In later years he returned to Ireland, became a member of the House of Commons, and won a distinct reputation there. He died in his native country. The career of Thomas Davis was very short. He died when he had only passed his twenty-ninth year, but he left a name which will always be remembered in his own country and wherever ballad poetry is appreciated. The three men were all very young when they founded the *Nation*, and they all had high literary gifts, which won the

admiration even of their political enemies. The *Nation* was the expression in prose and verse of the country's yearnings for political emancipation, and for the revival of a native literature: It found readers in every home where Irishmen had national sentiments. The paper was for a long time thoroughly constitutional in its tone, but those who managed it and supported it soon chafed against O'Connell's creed, that no political cause would justify bloodshed. A number of young men began to rise into eminence who refused to accept this doctrine, and the effect of their writings and speeches was to damage severely the influence of O'Connell over the people of Ireland.

O'Connell's power probably reached its zenith when he was put upon his trial in 1843, along with Duffy and other leading Irishmen, on a charge of conspiracy and sedition. The charge was mainly founded on public speeches made by O'Connell and others. In February, 1844, after a long legal process, he was convicted and sentenced to fine and imprisonment. The manner, however, in which the Crown prosecutors Dublin had arranged for a jury certain to convict the accused, the process familiarly known as "jury packing," was made the occasion of an appeal which came before the House of Lords in the following September, and the judgment of the Criminal Court was

reversed by a majority of the Law Lords. On this occasion Lord Denman declared that the course taken by the Crown prosecutors in forming the jury was one calculated to make the criminal law of the country "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare."

After this great triumph for O'Connell the remainder of the "Liberator's" career is but a story of physical decay and of death. The Young Ireland party had broken away from his dominion and set up an agitation of their own. Two men had arisen among them of quite remarkable powers. One of these was John Mitchel, and the other was Thomas Francis Meagher. Mitchel was an uncompromising Nationalist, who went in not merely for constitutional agitation, but for Ireland's independence, her complete severance from the British Empire. Meagher was one of the most brilliant orators Ireland had ever produced. Irishmen have often had great orators among them, but Meagher was counted among the most gifted of his race even in the days of O'Connell and Sheil. His style of oratory was fervid, glowing, passionate, rich with dazzling imagery and poetic allusions drawn from many literatures. Criticism might find fault with its style, but there was no question of its influence upon the listeners.

Another leader of the Young Ireland party was William Smith O'Brien, whose family

claimed direct descent from one of the Irish kings, and had for its head a Marquis in the British peerage. Duffy and Dillon for a time kept the *Nation* to its position as the organ of constitutional agitation, on the ground that there appeared no chance for any other kind of agitation; but they would not submit themselves or their journal to the pacific pledges O'Connell endeavoured to exact. In 1846 there was an almost total failure of the potato crop throughout the greater part of Ireland, and the result was a famine, especially in the south and west, in the winter of that year and many months of the next. The whole civilized world was roused to pity and sympathy, and from the farthest regions of the earth the help of the charitable came in. That help was sadly wanted, for the measures taken by the Government at home in the first instance proved pitifully inadequate. Red tape was allowed to interfere with promptitude in official action, and the peasantry were dying by hundreds while the authorities were considering how the distribution of relief could best be reconciled with the rules of political economy.

One great, although indirect, result of the Irish famine was the triumph of the principle of Free Trade in British financial policy. But this was yet to come; and meanwhile the famine was doing its grim work in Ireland. Men, women, and children were starving in

towns and villages and on hillsides, and the bewildered parochial authorities were not able to provide coffins enough for the burial of hunger's victims. O'Connell's health utterly broke down under this new national calamity. His last speech in the House of Commons was delivered on February 8, 1847. It was an appeal to Parliament and the Government to deal promptly and liberally with Ireland's need. He spoke in weak, broken, and sometimes almost inaudible tones, contrasting strangely with the well-remembered thrill of that voice which had so often held the House spellbound. O'Connell's physicians ordered him to seek rest in some warmer climate, and he set out for Rome, where it was believed that he wished his life should end. He did not reach his goal, for he broke down completely at Genoa, and died there on May 15, 1847. O'Connell, dying, bequeathed his heart to Rome, and it rests there in the Church of St. Agatha. His body was removed to Dublin, and lies in Glasnevin Cemetery. Even those who are disposed to criticise him most severely will not deny that Daniel O'Connell's resting-place in Glasnevin is the grave of a great man who truly loved his country.

The Irish national movement soon broke its constitutional bounds. John Mitchel gave up his connection with the *Nation* and started a weekly journal of his own, the *United Irishman*,

in which he advocated a movement for the absolute independence of Ireland. The Revolution which overthrew Louis Philippe broke out, and France became, for the second time, a Republic. Several of the Young Irelanders undertook a mission to France for the purpose of obtaining from the Republican Government help in Ireland's effort for independence. John Mitchel was put on his trial in Dublin because of articles which had appeared in his paper. He was charged with treason-felony, a new offence created by special legislation. Up to that time spoken or written sedition, when no act of rebellion or attack on the life of the Sovereign had been committed, could only be visited with a comparatively light punishment; but the new statute made such sedition felonious and liable to very severe penalties. Mitchel was found guilty, and made no attempt whatever to evade the action of the law. He was defended by Robert Holmes, a great Irish advocate, brother-in-law of Robert Emmet, whose speech on behalf of his client proclaimed his full sympathy with the sentiments for which Mitchel stood on his trial. After the verdict of guilty had been pronounced Mitchel made a short speech from the dock, declaring his absolute adhesion to the principles for which he was arraigned. He was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, and carried off at once to Bermuda and afterwards to Australia.

In the summer of 1848 the rebellion broke out under the leadership of William Smith O'Brien, and proved a complete failure. No other result could reasonably have been expected. Many of the Young Irelanders were totally opposed to so precipitate an attempt, but Smith O'Brien was determined to go on, and those who had worked with him were unwilling to hold back. No systematic provision had been made of weapons or stores, and even in that part of the country where the rising took place the majority of the people did not know that their leaders had come from Dublin to open a campaign of rebellion. The whole struggle began and ended in an encounter with the police at Ballingarry, County Tipperary, and not even a regiment of soldiers had to be called into action. Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher, and others were arrested almost immediately. John Blake Dillon escaped first to France and then to America. He had entirely opposed the premature and unprepared attempt, but as his leader would go on Dillon stood beside him at Ballingarry, where his tall form might have seemed to invite a policeman's bullet. A special Commission was held during the autumn in the assize town of Clonmel, Tipperary, where Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and two of their fellow-prisoners were charged with High Treason. They were found guilty, and con-

demned to death with all the accompanying horrors then legal. The sentence was commuted to one of transportation for life. The prisoners were sent to the convict settlements in Australia. In 1852 Meagher escaped from the colony and went to the United States, where he fought bravely for the North during the great Civil War. He lost his life by accident: he fell off a steamer in the Missouri and was drowned in July, 1867, in his forty-fourth year.

Smith O'Brien was conditionally released in February, 1854, the stipulation being that he must not return to any part of the United Kingdom. In 1856 he received a free pardon, and was allowed to go back to his native country. In 1864 he died at Bangor, North Wales, and his remains were removed to a churchyard in the county of Limerick, where his tomb may now be seen. John Mitchel settled in the United States, and conducted a paper in Richmond during the Civil War. He was an enthusiastic advocate of the South, and, to the great regret of most of his admirers, he proclaimed himself a supporter of slavery. After the Civil War he lived in New York, and there published a newspaper called the *Irish Citizen*. In January, 1875, he paid a visit to Ireland, and was received with much enthusiasm. A vacancy shortly afterwards occurred in the Parliamentary representation of the county of Tipperary, and

Mitchel in his absence—he had gone back to America—was elected without opposition. He returned to Ireland immediately, but was in such declining health that when he attended a meeting in Cork his speech had to be read for him by John Dillon, then a very young man, son of his old political associate John Blake Dillon, and now a leading member of the Irish party in the House of Commons. An objection was raised to Mitchel taking his seat on the ground that he was a convicted felon who had not worked out his sentence. A long debate took place, the result being that a large majority of votes declared the election void, and ordered the issue of a new writ. A second election took place, and Mitchel was re-elected by a majority of three to one over a Conservative. Mitchel died a few days after the election, at the age of fifty-nine. He was not a practical politician, and he held some opinions which many of his warmest admirers could not accept; but there can be no question of his sincerity, and he was one of the most powerful and brilliant prose writers of his time. The essence of politics, according to Macaulay, is compromise, and compromise was a quality which never belonged to Mitchel's nature.

After the failure of the rebellion of 1848 the Irish national cause, so far as Parliamentary life was concerned, became a continuous struggle for the amelioration of the

Irish land tenure system and for a nearer approach to religious equality. The effects of the famine were long felt, and emigration to America grew more and more. Those who emigrated were for the most part the young, strong, and enterprising, and those left behind were the least capable of effecting the industrial and social regeneration of Ireland. The population of the country declined steadily year after year, and has been declining to the present day. A new Ireland sprang up in America, where the Irish emigrants found profitable work on the expanses of land and in the great cities and towns. Irishmen of capacity began to take influential positions and to hold high offices in the most prosperous and progressive States. The population of Ireland now is probably hardly more than a quarter of what it was in O'Connell's earlier days, and emigration goes steadily on. Ireland still sent her representatives to the House of Commons, but they found work enough to do there in the effort to obtain legislation for the benefit or the rescue of the Irish tenant, and for many years little was heard about the legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing more was heard of Repeal, and the watchword "Home Rule" had not yet been adopted. But the literature of Young Ireland had made its mark and was maintaining its influence.

It had revived in new form the old-time literary characteristics of the Irish people. Its ballads were sung and its stories were told among the young men and women of city and country all over the island.

CHAPTER XII

HOME RULE

AN effort which at one time seemed very hopeful was made by the Government for the diffusion of education in Ireland. This consisted in the establishment of the Queen's Colleges and the Queen's University in 1847. The Colleges, three in number, were founded in Belfast, Cork, and Galway. The Queen's University, to which the collegiate institutions belonged, was in Dublin. The Colleges were unsectarian in character, and were open to students of all denominations. The character and method of the education deserves praise, and many of the professors were men of the highest standing in literature or science. But the scheme did not succeed, chiefly because secular education was condemned by the Catholic Church, and a large proportion of the population held aloof from "the Godless

Colleges," as they were often termed. Repeated legislative dealings with the Irish tithes system had done much to relieve the country from the fierce struggles between tithe-owner and tithe-payer, and the disestablishment and disendowment of the Anglican Church in Ireland was not far off.

At this time a political organization called the Fenian Brotherhood was started in the United States, the name Fenian being taken from the ancient history of Ireland, in which it represented a member of the national militia. The name was happily chosen for its especial purpose, because it appealed to national sympathy, and seemed to bring the Irish exile in America and in England back into association with the traditions of his people.

One of the founders of the Fenian Brotherhood was James Stephens, who had been "out" with Smith O'Brien in 1848, and his leadership of the Fenian movement was a link between the present and the past. The Fenians were organized by secret enrolment, and their declared object was to make Ireland an independent republic. Stephens came to Ireland to carry on the work there, was arrested and committed to prison, but contrived to make his escape by a combination of cleverness and daring. The Irish Fenians in America organized an invasion of Canada in May, 1866, occupied Fort Erie, and at

first drove back the Canadian Volunteers; but the invaders were speedily driven back in their turn.

In England the Fenians got up a plan for seizing Chester Castle, where arms were believed to be stored, moving on to Holyhead, taking possession of any large steamers there, and accomplishing an invasion of Ireland. The plan was brought to the knowledge of the authorities before it was put into action, and it failed. In March, 1867, an attempt at a general rising was hazarded in Ireland, but it, too, proved a complete failure. Numbers of the Fenians were made prisoners, and many arrests took place in England as well as in Ireland. In Manchester a daring and successful attempt was made by a body of Fenians to rescue two prisoners from a prison van, and in the attempt to break the lock of the van by a pistol bullet, a policeman inside who had charge of the prisoners was killed. Three of the Fenians were tried, convicted, and sentenced to death on the charge of murder. An earnest effort was made to save their lives, on the ground that the death of the policeman was the result merely of accident, and not of an attempt to kill, and that although the rescue was an illegal act, the men engaged in it ought not to be treated as common murderers for the one calamity which it unhappily caused. John Bright and John Stuart Mill gave all the weight of their

CLERKENWELL EXPLOSION 173

eloquence and their argument to obtain pardon for the condemned Fenians. Algernon Charles Swinburne addressed a noble poetic appeal for mercy to the people of England. These efforts failed. The three convicted men were put to death, and have ever since been known among Irish nationalists all over the world as "The Manchester Martyrs." T. D. Sullivan's "Irish National Anthem" commemorates their martyrdom.

On December 13, 1867, an attempt was made by Fenians to blow up Clerkenwell Prison, with the hope of rescuing one of their comrades. The attempt failed, and the explosion caused the death of some entirely innocent and unconcerned persons, and created a feeling of horror throughout the whole country. Sober-minded observers feared that excited English crowds might attempt reprisals on some of the Irish in the Metropolis, but no such acts of vengeance were committed. The principal offender in the Clerkenwell explosion was tried, found guilty, and executed, and the attempt upon the prison was utterly condemned by Irishmen as well as by Englishmen. Among the Fenians in America there was a certain dynamite party who believed that the English people could be frightened into measures of justice for Ireland by plots for the destruction of human life in English cities. An attempt made to blow up London Bridge on Decem-

ber 13, 1884, and one to blow up the Houses of Parliament on January 24, 1885, both ended in utter failure. It ought to be said that the recognised Fenian leaders never lent any countenance to acts of this atrocious character. Some of them were men of high honour and pure motives. Two of the Fenians who were actually condemned to death afterwards won credit and distinction in peaceful pursuits. One of these was John Boyle O'Reilly, whose death-sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life, and who was transported to Western Australia. He contrived to escape, and made his way to America. He settled in Boston, rose to great distinction as a journalist, an author, and an orator, and was made welcome in Boston's most cultured literary society at a time when Emerson, Longfellow, and Oliver Wendell Holmes were still living. The other, James F. X. O'Brien, has been for many years a respected member of the House of Commons, and a devoted adherent of the Irish National party. Mr. O'Brien had the curious distinction of being the last man in these countries on whom the now abolished sentence of death with drawing and quartering included was passed.

The constitutional agitation, which had been interrupted by the Fenian projects, soon again became active. It found a leader in Mr. Isaac Butt, the eloquent advocate who

had defended some of the prisoners at the Clonmel Special Commission, and had made himself prominent as a sympathizer with Ireland's claims for a national Parliament. Butt was a Protestant, and was a Conservative at first, but he had become thoroughly sympathetic with Ireland's cause. Under his leadership the name Home Rule was first given to the new constitutional claim. Butt's policy was much too slow and regular for the energy which was once again rising among Irishmen. His plan was to bring forward every Session a motion in favour of Home Rule for Ireland. The motion was introduced by him in an able and argumentative speech, was the subject of a formal debate, and, when the division was taken, was found to have only a very small minority of supporters. The question was then shelved until the next Session.

Some younger Irishmen were meanwhile coming into the House. One of these was a man qualified and destined to make for himself an enduring name in Ireland's history. This man was Charles Stewart Parnell, who soon put himself at the head of a new and original Parliamentary movement. Parnell was an Irishman by birth and residence, but he belonged to an old English family of long descent who had been settled in Cheshire for generations before any of them obtained property in Ireland and made a home there.

One of his ancestors was Thomas Parnell, author of "The Hermit." Later, Sir John Parnell lent resolute help to Henry Grattan in the defence of the Irish independent Parliament; and, later still, Sir Henry Parnell was a conspicuous figure in the British House of Commons. Charles Stewart Parnell had studied at Cambridge, but had given no evidence of any commanding ability there, and was utterly unknown to the vast majority of the House of Commons when in April, 1875, he was elected as Home Rule representative for the county of Meath. Parnell soon showed that he had a deep interest in the land question, and he devised and introduced a policy which came to be known as the policy of obstruction. The idea of this policy was that, if the House of Commons could not be prevailed upon to devote time and interest to the demands of Ireland, the Irish National representatives must make it clear that it would not be allowed to attend to any other business. Obstruction had, indeed, been put in practice again and again by English statesmen for the purpose of talking out some measure obnoxious to them, but it had never before been employed as the systematic policy of a Parliamentary party. The Parnellites debated every question as it came up with unwearying pertinacity, and as the rules of the House were not then framed with a view to the prevention of obstruction,

they kept the Commons sitting night after night by mere continuity of speech-making. Butt was a thoroughly Parliamentary politician, and set himself altogether against Parnell's plans ; but Parnell proved too strong for him, and soon had the whole strength of Irish Nationalism at home and abroad under his command. Butt died in May, 1879, and after a short interval Parnell was elected leader of the Irish Parliamentary party. Parnell was a close and keen debater, with a genius for the work he had to do. No man since O'Connell's time had had anything like the same command over the Irish people, and Parnell had a clearer and more practical Parliamentary policy than that of O'Connell's later days. Parnell especially wanted to force the Irish question on the attention of Parliament and of the public, and this he was well able to accomplish. The House of Commons, at the instance of successive Administrations, introduced new rules for the prevention or restriction of obstruction, but the discussions on each new proposal gave fresh opportunities to the obstructive policy. New coercive measures were introduced for Ireland, and legal prosecutions led to the imprisonment of Parnell himself and many of his leading supporters, but the power of Parnell could not be broken. Enlightened English statesmen were beginning to ask themselves whether there must not be some-

thing calling for consideration in a cause which could thus inspire the great majority of the Irish people.

The greatest English statesman then living gave his whole mind to the subject, and became a convert to the principle of Home Rule for Ireland. This statesman was William Ewart Gladstone. Gladstone had before this become convinced of the necessity for making some change in the land tenure system of Ireland, and for the abolition of the Irish State Church. When at the head of the Government in 1868 he set himself to accomplish these objects. During that Administration he disestablished and disendowed the Irish State Church, and carried a measure recognising the right of the Irish tenant to compensation for improvements effected by him in the soil which he had cultivated if he were to be deprived of his farm. This measure, although imperfect as a complete settlement of the land question, was the first step in the legislation attempted since by Conservative and Liberal Governments for securing to the Irish tenant a fair chance of making a living by his industry. Gladstone was applying himself to the question of Home Rule when the murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke took place in Phoenix Park, Dublin, on May 6, 1882, and sent a shock of horror all through the civilized world. These crimes were the

work of one of the small subterranean gangs of desperadoes who had then chosen to associate themselves with the National cause of Ireland. Lord Frederick Cavendish had just been appointed secretary to the Lord Lieutenant by Mr. Gladstone with the hope of introducing a more conciliatory form of administration into Ireland and getting rid of the old coercion system. Mr. Burke was one of the permanent officials of Dublin Castle, and was believed to have got hold of the secret plans concocted by these desperadoes, and to have discovered the identity of their authors. There can be little doubt that the object of the conspirators was to kill Mr. Burke, and that Lord Frederick was done to death only because he gallantly endeavoured to defend his companion, with whom he was walking when the attack was made. The murders in the Phoenix Park were publicly condemned by all the leading Irish Nationalists everywhere, and were deplored all the more because they naturally created a widespread feeling against the Irish National cause.

Gladstone remained firm to his faith in the better system of government needed for Ireland. His Administration was driven out of office in 1885 for a short time, but he soon came into power again after a General Election in 1886. He then introduced his first measure of Home Rule. The two leading principles of this measure were that Ireland should

have a National Parliament, and that she should have no representation in the Parliament at Westminster. Grattan's Parliament was to be restored to Ireland without the absurd old-world qualifications as to property and religious creed. Gladstone's scheme of Home Rule was frustrated by a secession from the Liberal party. John Bright was opposed to the measure, and Mr. Chamberlain withdrew from the Government rather than give it his countenance, although he had up to that time been regarded by Parnell and all the Irish Nationalist members as a strong supporter of Home Rule. The second reading of the Bill brought a division on June 7, 1886, and the measure was rejected by a majority of thirty, 343 votes being given against the second reading, and only 313 in its favour. Gladstone appealed to the country, and the result was that the Radicals and Home Rulers were defeated, and the Conservatives came into office. Gladstone was not discouraged. It was well known that when he came into power again he would introduce another Home Rule measure with improved conditions, and everybody felt quite certain that should his life be spared he must before long be at the head of a Government once again.

In the meantime, Ireland suffered a memorable and melancholy loss. Her greatest political leader died at Brighton on October 6,

1891. The close of Parnell's career was darkened by a miserable scandal. He and his principal followers had come triumphantly out of the ordeal which they had claimed, in justice to themselves, when *The Times* newspaper made against them its charges—of inciting to the commission of crimes and paying men to commit crimes, and the less serious charge of promoting a dangerous agitation—founded on letters attributed to Parnell. The Special Commission of Judges appointed by the Government for the investigation of these charges found that the letters alleged to have been written by Parnell were forgeries. The forger, Pigott, fled to Spain, and committed suicide in Madrid to avoid arrest and extradition. Parnell and his colleagues were acquitted by the Special Commission of all the serious charges brought against them.

When Parnell appeared in the House of Commons after the report of the Judges, he was received with a welcome from the whole Liberal party, including the occupants of the front Opposition bench and even some brave and independent men among the Tory ranks, such as had probably never been given to a private member before. This was in 1890. Soon after came the trial in the Divorce Court, and its result brought a political calamity along with it. Gladstone and the leading Liberals who stood by him believed that it would be impossible to carry a Home Rule

measure if Parnell should retain the leadership of the Irish party. A division took place in that party. A large majority called upon Parnell to resign, while the minority insisted that he must be maintained in the position of leader at all hazards. As no agreement could be effected, the majority seceded and formed a separate party under a new leader. Parnell and his followers set out on a campaign in Ireland for the maintenance of his power over the people, and there were many fiercely contested elections. Under the excitement and excessive fatigue, Parnell's health, which had been much impaired by overwork for some years, utterly broke down, and he came to his early death.

So melancholy a close to a great political career is not often recorded in history. Even the scandal in which Parnell came to be involved did not convict him of any absolutely unpardonable moral delinquency, and he made every reparation in his power. The one fault and the one mistake of Parnell were soon forgotten by Ireland as she bent over his grave.

The auspices under which Gladstone introduced his new Home Rule measure on February 13, 1893, were especially disheartening. The second measure was in some of its provisions a distinct improvement on the first. Its principle was not that of an absolutely isolated Irish Parliament,

and the exclusion of Ireland from any representation in the British House of Commons. It proposed to give Ireland a domestic or national Parliament for the management of her own affairs, and a certain proportionate representation in the Imperial Parliament. Many influential English and Scottish Liberals who were also Home Rulers had strongly objected to the idea of severing Ireland from any representation in the English House of Commons. Ireland's representation in the Imperial Parliament was to be made up of eighty members, chosen on the existing qualifications. The new Bill was therefore regarded with greater favour in the House of Commons than its predecessor, and the Home Rule cause made a distinct step in advance. The measure passed through the Commons by a majority of 301 against 267, and was only rejected when it went up to the Lords. The principle of Home Rule for Ireland thus obtained the recognition and approval of the representative Chamber.

The remainder of Ireland's story, thus far, may be told in short space. The Home Rule party reunited in January, 1900, under the leadership of Mr. John Redmond, who had led the Parnellite party after the split, and who now found trusting followers and comrades among all sections of Irish Nationalists. The gradual development of England's colonial system has been doing much to teach Englishmen that

the abiding union of the Empire is to be found in that principle of domestic self-government which has made the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia loyal and prosperous. In our most recent days we have had evidence of a good time coming for the agricultural populations of Ireland such as no previous generation has seen or even foreshadowed. This evidence is found in the Conference held between the accredited representatives of the Irish landlords on the one side and of the Irish tenants on the other. Such Irish landlords as the Earl of Dunraven and the Earl of Mayo met in prolonged conference with John Redmond, William O'Brien, and T. W. Russell, the latter a strong Unionist in politics, who had rendered devoted service to the Irish tenantry, and now joined with leading members of the Home Rule party in representing that cause at the Conference. The mere fact that such a Conference should have met together to discuss the Land Question was an event of the most happy augury, and one new to the story of Ireland. The Conference agreed unanimously in the adoption of a lengthened report clearly setting forth the principles of a land-tenure system which could enable landlords and tenants to live together on the soil, while the tenant was to be helped by Government loans to obtain the ownership of the land, and thus to enjoy the secure and the

increasing fruit of his labour. Mr. George Wyndham, the Irish Chief Secretary, at once brought in a Bill creating a Commission to buy estates from landlords and sell them to tenants, thus creating a peasant proprietary, and to assist the tenants by means of a Government loan. Perhaps this volume could not close more appropriately or more auspiciously than with the record of this event in the history of the Irish race.

INDEX.

BAGNAL, Sir Henry, and
 Hugh O'Neil, 65.
 Beaconsfield, Lord, 5.
 Blackwater, the, 32.
 Brefni and Dermot, 24.
 Brian Boru, 18; King of
 Ireland, 20.
 Bright, John, 172, 180.
 Bruce, Edward, and Scot-
 tish Alliance, 36.
 Burke, Edmund, 99.
 Butt, Isaac, 174.
 Byron, 125, 150.

 Carteret, Lord, 113.
 Chamberlain, Joseph, 180.
 Charlemont, Lord, 129.
 Chesterfield, Lord, 116.
 Climate and scenery, 4, 32.
 Colonies and their Parlia-
 ments, 126, 183.
 Commerce, Restrictive Laws,
 99, 114.
 Cornwallis, Lord, 141.
 Curran, John Philpot, 139,
 144.

 Danes, invasion by, 17;
 defeat of, 19, 21; their
 towns and harbours, 22, 31.
 Davis, Thomas, 159.
 Denman, Lord, 161.
 Dillon, John Blake, 159.
 Duffy, Charles Gavan, 159.

 Emigration, 147, 168.

Emmets, the, 143.
 English rule and Irish re-
 sistance: Henry II. and
 the Bull of Authority, 25;
 Ireland conquered and
 annexed, 26; Henry's in-
 stitutions, 29; Norman
 barons and Celtic popula-
 tion, 31; Bruce defeated,
 36; York and Lancaster,
 40; Henry VII., 41;
 Henry VIII., 45; Fitz-
 gerald's rising, 50; Mary,
 52; Elizabeth, 52; chronic
 rebellion, 53; Shane
 O'Neil's rising, 55, 58;
 devastation of Munster,
 61; Hugh O'Neil's rising,
 64; James I. and Tyrone,
 68; Phelin O'Neil's rising,
 73; Charles I. and Straf-
 ford, 80; Cromwell, 83;
 Irish driven "to Hell or
 Connaught," 87; Charles
 II., 90; James II., 91;
 William of Orange, 92;
 Ginckel's victories, 92;
 Limerick treaty violated,
 94; Anne, 101; George I.,
 109; Dublin Castle ad-
 ministration, 117; the
 "Patriot Party," 121;
 Volunteer movement and
 National Convention, 130;
 "United Irishmen," 134;
 George III. and Catholic

- Emancipation, 135; rising of 1798 suppressed, 140; Emmet's rising, 144; George IV., 154; "United Irishmen" and separation, 161; Young Irelanders and French Republic, 164; "Treason - felony," 164; rising of 1848, 165; Fenian attempts, 171; "Manchester Martyrs," 173; London explosions, 173; Phoenix Park murders, 178; Parnell Commission, 181.
- Essex, Earl of, 66.
- Famine, 162.
- Father Mathew, 157.
- Fitzgeralds: "Silken Thomas," 48; rebellion, 50; execution, 51; Lord Edward, 136, 140.
- Fitzwilliam, Earl, 135.
- "Flight of the Earls," 71.
- Flood, Henry, 123.
- Folk-lore, 4; legends and ballads, 6; "Sorrowful Tales of Erin," 7; Fin-gal, 8.
- France, Irish appeal to, 58; exiled Earls in, 71; French help for James II., 92; French Revolution, 134, 136; French expeditions, 137, 140; appeal to the Second Republic, 164.
- Freeman's Journal*, 123.
- Froude, 56, 61, 106.
- Gladstone, 178.
- Grattan, Henry, 125.
- Holmes, Robert, 164.
- Home Rule movement: Isaac Butt's Leadership, 174; Parnell and Obstruction, 176; first Home Rule Bill, 179; Liberal Split, 180; second Home Rule Bill, 182.
- Irish People: Legendary origins of, 2, 7; the outdoor habit, 4; characteristics, 5; the Irish abroad, 6, 78, 88, 96, 108, 147; early social conditions, 11; habitations and industries, 13; art and writing, 14; "O" and "Mac," 24; Norman-Irish, 34; Irish dress, 36, 56.
- Johnson, Dr., 122.
- Kildare, Earls of, 43, 46.
- Killarney, 33.
- Kilwarden, Lord, 139, 144.
- King and Chieftains, 9, 11.
- Land: confiscations, 29, 63, 76, 85; the old and new systems, 35; English settlements, 54, 62, 76, 86; effect of the new system, 100, 148; tenant v. landlord, 148; first Land Bill, 178; Land Conference, 184; Mr. Wyndham's Bill, 185.
- Lecky, 129.
- Limerick, Siege and Treaty of, 93.
- Literary revival, 10, 158, 169.
- Lucas, Charles, 121.
- Lytton, Bulwer, 151.
- Meagher, Thomas Francis, 161, 166.
- Mill, John Stuart, 101, 172.
- Mitchel, John, 161, 164, 166; Tipperary election, 167.
- Molyneux: "The Case of Ireland," 114.
- Moore, Thomas, 7, 24.
- Mountjoy, Lord, 67.
- Nation*, the, 158.
- Nationalist party: division, 182; reunion, 183.

- Normans and Irish, the, 31 ;
the Geraldines, 34 ; assimilation, and laws against it, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39.
- O'Brien, James F. X., 174.
O'Brien, William Smith, 161, 166.
O'Connell, Daniel, 147 ; and French Revolution, 150 ; Clare election, 153 ; trial, 160 ; death, 163.
O'Neil, Hugh, 64.
O'Neil, Shane, in England, 56.
O'Reilly, John Boyle, 174.
Ormond, Earl of, 46 ; dispute with Kildare, 47.
- Pale, the, 45.
Parnell, Charles Stewart, 175 ; later days, 181.
Parliaments, Irish : of Kilkenny, Dublin, and Drogheda, 37, 38 ; Poynings' Law, 42, 92, 128 ; Perrot's Parliament, 62 ; under Queen Anne, 102 ; Petition for Legislative Union, 105 ; Legislative Independence, 131 ; Union carried, 143 ; Repeal agitation, 151, 155 ; " Home Rule," 175.
Peel, Sir Robert, 153.
Perrot, Sir John, 62, 64.
Pitt, William, 135.
Political disunion, 18, 24, 30, 31.
Popes : Adrian IV., 25 ; Paul V., 72.
Protestant Nationalists, 51, 134, 175.
Provinces, the four, 23.
- Queen's Colleges, 170.
- Redmond, John, 183.
Religion, pre-Christian, 11 ; coming of Christianity, 15 ; " Isle of Saints," 17 ; churches and abbeys, 33 ; the Reformation, 51 ; laws against Roman Catholicism, 52, 70, 97 ; sale of religious liberty, 80 ; Cromwellians and Catholics, 84 ; Tyrconnel's leniency, 91 ; Limerick treaty, 94 ; fresh disabilities, 97, 101 ; inconsistent intolerance, 102 ; the Protestant Dissenters, 103 ; Chesterfield's leniency, 119 ; Irish franchise for Catholics, 131 ; Catholic Emancipation movement, 135, 146 ; Catholic Relief Bill passed, 154 ; Disestablishment, 178.
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 89.
Round Towers, 13.
Rowan, Hamilton, 134.
Russell, Sir William, 64.
- St. Patrick, 15.
Sarsfield, Patrick, 93.
Scots, 36, 57.
Septs, the, 12.
Slavery question, 156.
Smith, Goldwin, 74.
Spanish expedition, 68.
Spenser, Edmund, 32.
Stephens, James, 171.
Strafford, Earl of, 80.
" Strongbow," 26.
Stuarts, Irish loyalty to, 83.
Swift, Dean : " Drapier's Letters," 109.
Swinburne, 173.
- Temperance movement, 157.
The Times, 181.
Tone, Wolfe, 134 ; in France, 137 ; trial, 139.
Tyrconnel, Earl of, 70, 71, 91.
Tyrone, Earls of, 54, 61, 71.
- Ulster, 23 ; resistance to England, 28 ; English and Scotch companies, 78.

- Union, the way to, 44.
United Irishman, the, 163.
United States: War of Independence, 128; Civil War, 166; *Irish Citizen*, 166; the Irish in, 168; Fenian invasion of Canada, 171.
- Volunteers, the, 129; disbanded, 133.
- Wellington, Duke of, 154.
Woman, position of, 12.
Wood's coinage, 111.
- "Young Ireland" Party, 158.

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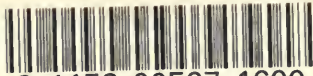
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